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Early English Text Society.

Extra Series, XCIV.

Respublica,

A.D. 1553.

A PLAY ON THE SOCIAL CONDITION OF ENGLAND  
AT THE ACCESSION OF QUEEN MARY.

EDITED BY

LEONARD A. MAGNUS, LL.B.

(FROM MR. GURNEY'S UNIQUE MACRO MS. 215).

WITH INTRODUCTION, NOTES, AND GLOSSARIES.

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# Early English Text Society.

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The Early English Text Society was started by Dr. Furnivall in 1864 for the purpose of bringing the mass of Old English Literature within the reach of the ordinary student, and of wiping away the reproach under which England had long rested, of having felt little interest in the monuments of her early language and life.

On the starting of the Society, so many Texts of importance were at once taken in hand by its Editors, that it became necessary in 1867 to open, besides the *Original Series* with which the Society began, an *Extra Series* which should be mainly devoted to fresh editions of all that is most valuable in printed MSS. and Caxton's and other black-letter books, though first editions of MSS. will not be excluded when the convenience of issuing them demands their inclusion in the Extra Series.

During the forty-one years of the Society's existence, it has produced, with whatever shortcomings, and at a cost of over £30,000, an amount of good solid work for which all students of our Language, and some of our Literature, must be grateful, and which has rendered possible the beginnings (at least) of proper Histories and Dictionaries of that Language and Literature, and has illustrated the thoughts, the life, the manners and customs of our forefathers and foremothers.

But the Society's experience has shown the very small number of those inheritors of the speech of Cynewulf, Chaucer, and Shakspere, who care two guineas a year for the records of that speech. 'Let the dead past bury its dead' is still the cry of Great Britain and her Colonies, and of America, in the matter of language. The Society has never had money enough to produce the Texts that could easily have been got ready for it; and many Editors are now anxious to send to press the work they have prepared. The necessity has therefore arisen for trying to increase the number of the Society's members, and to induce its well-wishers to help it by gifts of money, either in one sum or by instalments. The Committee trust that every Member will bring before his or her friends and acquaintances the Society's claims for liberal support. Until all Early English MSS. are printed, no proper History of our Language or Social Life is possible.

The Subscription to the Society, which constitutes membership, is £1 1s. a year for the ORIGINAL SERIES, and £1 1s. for the EXTRA SERIES, due in advance on the 1st of JANUARY, and should be paid by Cheque, Postal Order, or Money-Order, to the 'Union Bank of London,' to the Hon. Secretary, W. A. DALZIEL, Esq., 67, Victoria Rd., Finsbury Park, London, N. Members who want their Texts posted to them, must add to their prepaid Subscriptions 1s. for the Original Series, and 1s. for the Extra Series, yearly. The Society's Texts are also sold separately at the prices put after them in the Lists; but Members can get back-Texts at one-third less than the List-prices by sending the cash for them in advance to the Hon. Secretary.

The Society intends to complete, as soon as its funds will allow, the Reprints of its out-of-print Texts of the year 1883, and also of nos. 20, 26, and 33. Dr. Otto Glauning has undertaken *Seinte Marherete*; and Dr. Furnivall has *Hali Meidenhad* in type. As the cost of these Reprints, if they were not needed, would have been devoted to fresh Texts, the Reprints will be sent to all Members in lieu of such Texts. Though called 'Reprints,' these books are new editions, generally with valuable additions, a fact not noticed by a few careless receivers of them, who have complained that they already had the volumes. As the Society's copies of the *Facsimile of the Epinal MS.* issued as an Extra Volume in 1883 are exhausted, Mr. J. H. Hessols, M.A., of St. John's Coll., Cambridge, has kindly undertaken an edition of the MS. for the Society. This will be substituted for the Facsimile as an 1883 book, and will be also issued to all the present Members.

**Dec. 1905.** The Original-Series Texts for 1904 were 1. No. 124, *Twenty-six Political (t. Hen. V) and other Poems* from the Digby MS. 102, &c., edited by Dr. J. Kail; 2. No. 125, Part I of the *Medieval Records of a London City Church* (St. Mary-at-Hill), A.D. 1420-1559, copied and edited by Mr. Henry Littlehales from the Church Records in the Guildhall, the cost of the setting and corrections of the text being generously borne by its Editor. This book has shown the income and outlay of the church; the drink provided for its Palm-Sunday players, its officers' excursions into Kent and Essex, its dealing with the Plague, the disposal of its goods at the Reformation, &c., &c., and has helpt our members to realize the church-life of its time. The third Text was Part I of *An Alphabet of Tales*, a very interesting collection of stories for Sermons, &c., englisch in the Northern Dialect, about 1440, from the Latin *Alphabetum Narrationum*, and edited by Mrs. M. M. Banks from the unique MS. in the King's Library in the British Museum.

The Original-Series Texts for 1905 will be, 1. No. 127, Part II of the *Alphabet of Tales*, edited by Mrs. M. M. Banks; 2. No. 128, Part II of the *Medieval Records of a London City Church*, edited by Mr. Henry Littlehales, who will pay for its setting, as he did for that of Part I as well as its 5 Facsimiles; 3. No. 129, Part I of the englising, ab. 1450 A.D., of the Deeds in the *Register of Godstow Nunnery*, edited from the unique MSS. by the Rev. Andrew Clark, LL.D. These deeds throw much light on the early social state of England. Among the Texts for 1906 and 1907 will be Part III of the *Alphabet of Tales*, edited by Mrs. M. M. Banks, Part II of the *English Register of Godstow Nunnery*, and the *English Register of Osney Abbey*, edited by the Rev. Dr. Andrew Clark, and Part I of the *Coventry Lect Book*, copied and edited for the Society by Miss M. Dormer Harris—helpt by a contribution from the Common Council of the City: it will be publisht by the Society as its contribution to our knowledge of the provincial city life of the 15th century. Future Texts will be Part III of Robert of Brunne's *Handlyng Syyne*, edited by Dr. Furnivall, with a Glossary of Wm. of Waddington's French words in his *Manuel des Pechez*, and comments on them, by Prof. Dickson-Brown; Part II of the *Exeter Book*—Anglo-Saxon Poems from the unique MS. in Exeter Cathedral—re-edited by Israel Gollancz, M.A.; Part II of Prof. Dr. Holthausen's *Vices and Virtues*; Part II of *Jacob's Well*, edited by Dr. Brandeis; the Alliterative *Siege of Jerusalem*, edited by the late Prof. Dr. E. Kölbing and Prof. Dr. Kaluza; an Introduction and Glossary to the *Minor Poems of the Vernon MS.* by H. Hartley, M.A.; Alain Chartier's *Quadrilogue*, edited from the unique MS. Univ. Coll. Oxford MS. No. 85, by Mr. J. W. H. Atkins of Owen's College. Canon Wordsworth of Marlborough has given the Society a copy of the Leofric Canonical Rule, Latin and Anglo-Saxon, Parker MS. 191, C. C. C. Cambridge, and Prof. Napier will edit it, with a fragment of the englisch Capitula of Bp. Theodore: it is now at press.

The Extra-Series Texts for 1904 were 1. the *Macro Plays of Mankind, Wisdom, and the Castle of Perseverance*, edited from Mr. Gurney's MS. by Dr. Furnivall and A. W. Pollard, M.A.; 2. Lydgate's *DeGuillerme's Pilgrimage of the Life of Man*, Part III, edited by Miss Katharine Locock; and Dr. E. A. Kock's edition of Lovelich's *Merlin* from the unique MS. in Corpus Christi Coll., Cambridge, Part I. Those for 1905 will be 1. *Respublica*, A.D. 1553, A Play on the Social Condition of England at the Accession of Q. Mary, edited by Leonard A. Magnus, LL.B.; 2. Lovelich's *History of the Holy Grail*, Part V, a capital summary of the rise and development of the Legend of the Graal, by Miss Dorothy Kempe; 3. *Myrc's Festial*, re-edited from the MSS. by Dr. Erbe, Part I.

The Extra-Series Texts for 1906, &c., will be chosen from *The Owl and Nightingale*, two parallel Texts, edited by Mr. G. F. H. Sykes; Dr. Erbe's re-edition of *Myrc's Festial*, Part II; Dr. M. Konrath's re-edition of *William of Shorham's Poems*, Part II; Prof. Erdmann's re-edition of Lydgate's *Siege of Thebes* (issued also by the Chaucer Society); Miss Rickert's re-edition of the Romance of *Emare*; Prof. I. Gollancz's re-edition of two Alliterative Poems, *Winner and Waster*, &c., ab. 1360, lately issued for the Roxburghe Club; Dr. Norman Moore's re-edition of *The Book of the Foundation of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, London*, from the unique MS. ab. 1425, which gives an account of the Founder, Rahere, and the miraculous cures wrought at the Hospital; *The Craft of Nombrunge*, with other of the earliest englisch Treatises on Arithmetic, edited by R. Steele, B.A.; and Miss Warren's two-text edition of *The Dance of Death* from the Ellesmere and other MSS.

#### 4 *Texts preparing: The Texts for 1906, 1907, &c. Deguilleville.*

Dr. Brie of Berlin is editing the prose *Brut* or *Chronicle of Britain* attributed to Sir John Mandeville, and printed by Caxton. He has already examined more than 100 English MSS. and several French ones, to get the best text, and find out its source.

These Extra-Series Texts ought to be completed by their Editors: the Second Part of the prose Romance of *Melusine*—Introduction, with ten facsimiles of the best woodblocks of the old foreign black-letter editions, Glossary, &c., by A. K. Donald, B.A. (now in India); and a new edition of the famous Early-English Dictionary (English and Latin), *Promptorium Parvulorum*, from the Winchester MS., ab. 1440 A.D.: in this, the Editor, the Rev. A. L. Mayhew, M.A., will follow and print his MS. not only in its arrangement of nouns first, and verbs second, under every letter of the Alphabet, but also in its giving of the flexions of the words. The Society's edition will thus be the first modern one that really represents its original, a point on which Mr. Mayhew's insistence will meet with the sympathy of all our Members.

Later Texts for the Extra Series will include *The Three Kings' Sons*, Part II, the Introduction &c. by Prof. Dr. Leon Kellner; Part II of *The Chester Plays*, re-edited from the MSS., with a full collation of the formerly missing Devonshire MS., by Mr. G. England and Dr. Matthews; Prof. Jespersen's editions of John Hart's *Orthographie* (MS. 1551 A.D.; blackletter 1569), and *Method to teach Reading*, 1570; Deguilleville's *Pilgrimage of the Soule*, in English prose, edited by Prof. Dr. L. Kellner. (For the three prose versions of *The Pilgrimage of the Life of Man*—two English, one French—an Editor is wanted.) Members are asked to realise the fact that the Society has now 50 years' work on its Lists,—at its present rate of production,—and that there is from 100 to 200 more years' work to come after that. The year 2000 will not see finished all the Texts that the Society ought to print. The need of more Members and money is pressing. Offers of help from willing Editors have continually to be declined because the Society has no funds to print their Texts.

An urgent appeal is hereby made to Members to increase the list of Subscribers to the E. E. Text Society. It is nothing less than a scandal that the Hellenic Society should have nearly 1000 members, while the Early English Text Society has not 300!

Before his death in 1895, Mr. G. N. Currie was preparing an edition of the 15th and 16th century Prose Versions of Guillaume de Deguilleville's *Pilgrimage of the Life of Man*, with the French prose version by Jean Gallopes, from Lord Aldenham's MS., he having generously promised to pay the extra cost of printing the French text, and engraving one or two of the illuminations in his MS. But Mr. Currie, when on his deathbed, charged a friend to burn all his MSS. which lay in a corner of his room, and unluckily all the E. E. T. S.'s copies of the Deguilleville prose versions were with them, and were burnt with them, so that the Society will be put to the cost of fresh copies, Mr. Currie having died in debt.

Guillaume de Deguilleville, monk of the Cistercian abbey of Chaalis, in the diocese of Senlis, wrote his first verse *Pèlerinage de l'Homme* in 1380-1 when he was 36.<sup>1</sup> Twenty-five (or six) years after, in 1356, he revised his poem, and issued a second version of it,<sup>2</sup> a revision of which was printed ab. 1500. Of the prose representative of the first version, 1380-1, a prose Englishing, about 1430 A.D., was edited by Mr. Aldis Wright for the Roxburghe Club in 1869, from MS. Ff. 5. 30 in the Cambridge University Library. Other copies of this prose English are in the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow, Q. 2. 25; Sion College, London; and the Laud Collection in the Bodleian, no. 740.<sup>3</sup> A copy in the Northern dialect is MS. G. 21, in St. John's Coll., Cambridge, and this is the MS. which will be edited for the E. E. Text Society. The Laud MS. 740 was somewhat condensed and modernised, in the 17th century, into MS. Ff. 6. 30, in the Cambridge University Library:<sup>4</sup> "The Pilgrime or the Pilgrimage of Man in this World," copied by Will. Baspoole, whose copy "was verbatim written by Walter Parker, 1645, and from thence transcribed by G. G. 1649; and from thence by W. A. 1655." This last copy may have been read by, or its story reported to, Bunyan, and may have been the groundwork of his *Pilgrim's Progress*. It will be edited for the E. E. T. Soc., its text running under the earlier English, as in Mr. Herrtage's edition of the *Gesta Romanorum* for the Society. In February 1464,<sup>5</sup> Jean Gallopes—a clerk of Angers, afterwards chaplain to John, Duke of Bedford, Regent of France—turned Deguilleville's first verse *Pèlerinage* into a prose *Pèlerinage de la vie humaine*.<sup>6</sup> By the kindness of Lord Aldenham, as above mentioned, Gallopes's French text will be printed opposite the early prose northern Englishing in the Society's edition.

The Second Version of Deguilleville's *Pèlerinage de l'Homme*, A.D. 1355 or -6, was englighst in verse by Lydgate in 1426. Of Lydgate's poem, the larger part is in the Cotton MS. Vitellius C. xiii (leaves 2-308). This MS. leaves out Chaucer's englising of Deguilleville's

<sup>1</sup> He was born about 1295. See Abbé GOUJET'S *Bibliothèque française*, Vol. IX, p. 734.—P. M. The Roxburghe Club printed the 1st version in 1893.

<sup>2</sup> The Roxburghe Club's copy of this 2nd version was lent to Mr. Currie, and unluckily burnt too with his other MSS.

<sup>3</sup> These 3 MSS. have not yet been collated, but are believed to be all of the same version.

<sup>4</sup> Another MS. is in the Pepys Library.

<sup>5</sup> According to Lord Aldenham's MS.

<sup>6</sup> These were printed in France, late in the 15th or early in the 16th century.

*ABC or Prayer to the Virgin*, of which the successive stanzas start with A, B, C, and run all thro' the alphabet; and it has 2 main gaps, besides many small ones from the tops of leaves being burnt in the Cotton fire. All these gaps (save the A B C) have been filled up from the Stowe MS. 952 (which old John Stowe completed) and from the end of the other imperfect MS. Cotton, Tiberius A vii. Thanks to the diligence of the old Elizabethan tailor and manuscript-lover, a complete text of Lydgate's poem has been given. The British Museum French MSS. (Harleian 4399<sup>1</sup>, and Additional 22,987<sup>2</sup> and 25,594<sup>3</sup>) are all of the First Version.

Besides his first *Pelerinaige de l'homme* in its two versions, Deguileville wrote a second, "de l'ame separee du corps," and a third, "de nostre seigneur Iesus." Of the second, a prose Englishing of 1413, *The Pilgrimage of the Soule* (with poems by Hoccleve, already printed for the Society with that author's *Regement of Princes*), exists in the Egerton MS. 615,<sup>4</sup> at Hatfield, Cambridge (Univ. Kk. 1. 7, and Caius), Oxford (Univ. Coll. and Corpus), and in Caxton's edition of 1483. This version has 'somewhat of addicions' as Caxton says, and some shortenings too, as the maker of both, the first translator, tells us in the MSS. Caxton leaves out the earlier Englisher's interesting Epilog in the Egerton MS. This prose englishing of the *Soule* will be edited for the Society by Prof. Dr. Leon Kellner after that of the *Man* is finished, and will have Gallopes's French opposite it, from Lord Aldenham's MS., as his gift to the Society. Of the Pilgrimage of Jesus, no englishing is known.

As to the MS. Anglo-Saxon Psalters, Dr. Hy. Sweet has edited the oldest MS., the Vespasian, in his *Oldest English Texts* for the Society, and Mr. Harsley has edited the latest, c. 1150, Eadwine's Canterbury Psalter. The other MSS., except the Paris one, being interlinear versions,—some of the Roman-Latin redaction, and some of the Gallican,—Prof. Logeman has prepared for press, a Parallel-Text edition of the first twelve Psalms, to start the complete work. He will do his best to get the Paris Psalter—tho' it is not an interlinear one—into this collective edition; but the additional matter, especially in the Verse-Psalms, is very difficult to manage. If the Paris text cannot be parallelised, it will form a separate volume. The Early English Psalters are all independent versions, and will follow separately in due course.

Through the good offices of the Examiners, some of the books for the Early-English Examinations of the University of London will be chosen from the Society's publications, the Committee having undertaken to supply such books to students at a large reduction in price. The net profits from these sales will be applied to the Society's Reprints.

Members are reminded that *fresh Subscribers are always wanted*, and that the Committee can at any time, on short notice, send to press an additional Thousand Pounds' worth of work.

The Subscribers to the Original Series must be prepared for the issue of the whole of the Early English *Lives of Saints*, sooner or later. The Society cannot leave out any of them, even though some are dull. The Sinners would doubtless be much more interesting. But in many Saints' Lives will be found valuable incidental details of our forefathers' social state, and all are worthwhile for the history of our language. The Lives may be looked on as the religious romances or story-books of their period.

The Standard Collection of Saints' Lives in the Corpus and Ashmole MSS., the Harleian MS. 2277, &c. will repeat the Laud set, our No. 87, with additions, and in right order. (The foundation MS. (Laud 108) had to be printed first, to prevent quite unwieldy collations.) The Supplementary Lives from the Vernon and other MSS. will form one or two separate volumes.

Beside the Saints' Lives, Trevisa's englishing of *Bartholomaeus de Proprietatibus Rerum*, the medieval Cyclopaedia of Science, &c., will be the Society's next big undertaking. Dr. R. von Fleischhacker will edit it. Prof. Napier of Oxford, wishing to have the whole of our MS. Anglo-Saxon in type, and accessible to students, will edit for the Society all the unprinted and other Anglo-Saxon Homilies which are not included in Thorpe's edition of Ælfric's prose,<sup>5</sup> Dr. Morris's of the Blickling Homilies, and Prof. Skeat's of Ælfric's Metrical Homilies. The late Prof. Kölbing left complete his text, for the Society, of the *Ancren Riwle*, from the best MS., with collations of the other four, and this will be edited for the Society by Dr. Thümmler. Mr. Harvey means to prepare an edition of the three MSS. of the *Earliest English Metrical Psalter*, one of which was edited by the late Mr. Stevenson for the Surtees Society.

Members of the Society will learn with pleasure that its example has been followed, not only by the Old French Text Society which has done such admirable work under its founders Prof. Paul Meyer and Gaston Paris, but also by the Early Russian Text Society, which was set on foot in 1877, and has since issued many excellent editions of old MS. Chronicles, &c.

Members will also note with pleasure the annexation of large tracts of our Early English territory by the important German contingent, the late Professors Zupitza and Kölbing, the

<sup>1</sup> 15th cent., containing only the *Vie humaine*.

<sup>2</sup> 15th cent., containing all the 3 Pilgrimages, the 3rd being Jesus Christ's.

<sup>3</sup> 14th cent., containing the *Vie humaine* and the 2nd Pilgrimage, *de l'Amé*: both incomplete.

<sup>4</sup> Ab. 1480, 106 leaves (leaf 1 of text wanting), with illuminations of nice little devils—red, green, tawny, &c.—and damned souls, fires, angels &c.

<sup>5</sup> Of these, Mr. Harley is preparing a new edition, with collations of all the MSS. Many copies of Thorpe's book, not issued by the Ælfric Society, are still in stock.

*Of the Veronelli Homilies*, the Society has bought the copy made by Prof. G. Lattanzi.

living Hausknecht, Einenkel, Haenisch, Kaluza, Hupe, Adam, Holthausen, Schick, Herzfeld, Brandeis, Sieper, Konrath, Wülfing, &c. Scandinavia has also sent us Prof. Erdmann and Dr. E. A. Kock; Holland, Prof. H. Logeman, who is now working in Belgium; France, Prof. Paul Meyer—with Gaston Paris as adviser (alas, now dead);—Italy, Prof. Lattanzi; Austria, Dr. von Fleischhacker; while America is represented by the late Prof. Child, by Dr. Mary Noyes Colvin, Miss Rickert, Profs. Mead, McKnight, Triggs, Perrin, Craig, &c. The sympathy, the ready help, which the Society's work has called forth from the Continent and the United States, have been among the pleasantest experiences of the Society's life, a real aid and cheer amid all troubles and discouragements. All our Members are grateful for it, and recognise that the bond their work has woven between them and the lovers of language and antiquity across the seas is one of the most welcome results of the Society's efforts.

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# Respublīca,

A.D. 1553.

A PLAY ON THE SOCIAL CONDITION OF ENGLAND  
AT THE ACCESSION OF QUEEN MARY.

EDITED BY

LEONARD A. MAGNUS, LL.B.

(FROM MR. GURNEY'S UNIQUE MACRO MS. 115).

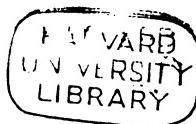
WITH INTRODUCTION, NOTES, AND GLOSSARIES.

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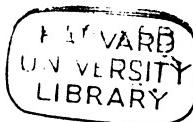
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## CONTENTS

	PAGE
<b>INTRODUCTION ...</b>	<b>vii—xxxviii</b>
<b>TEXT ...</b>	<b>1—63</b>
<b>NOTES ...</b>	<b>65—70</b>
<b>PEOPLE'S DIALECT. PART I ...</b>	<b>71—73</b>
,,      ,,      PART II, BY MR. J. S. WESTLAKE ...	73—75
<b>PEOPLE'S GLOSSARY ...</b>	<b>76—78</b>
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## CONTENTS

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION ...	... vii—xxxviii
TEXT ...	... 1—63
NOTES ...	... 65—70
PEOPLE'S DIALECT. PART I ...	... 71—73
,,      ,,      PART II, BY MR. J. S. WESTLAKE ...	... 73—75
PEOPLE'S GLOSSARY ...	... 76—78
GENERAL GLOSSARY ...	... 79—84



## INTRODUCTION.

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|---|--|
| <p>§ 1. <i>History of Manuscript</i>, p. vii.<br/>     § 2. <i>Condition of Manuscript</i>, p. viii.<br/>     § 3. <i>Analysis of the Action</i>, p. viii.<br/>     § 4. <i>Evidences of Authorship and Contemporary Documents</i>, p. xii.<br/>     § 5. <i>The History of the Time, briefly summarized as bearing on the Action and Content of the Play</i>, p. xxii.</p> | <p>§ 6. <i>The Social Evils of the Time as criticized by the Author</i>, p. xxvii.<br/>     § 7. <i>The Style and Rhymes</i>, p. xxxi.<br/>     § 8. <i>The Orthography, Grammar and Pronunciation</i>, p. xxxiii.<br/>     § 9. <i>Acknowledgments</i>, p. xxxviii.</p> |
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§ 1. THIS interlude of *Respublica* is one of the Macro Plays. The manuscript has been kindly lent by the owner, Mr. J. H. Gurney of Keswick Hall near Norwich, and (we are quoting from Mr. A. W. Pollard's edition of *Mankind, Wisdom, the Castle of Perseverance*, No. XCI of this series) "once formed part of the collection of the Rev. Cox Macro, whence the name, the Macro Moralities, by which they are usually quoted. According to a useful notice in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, Cox Macro was born in 1683, and was the son of Thomas Macro, a wealthy grocer of Bury St. Edmunds, who was five times Mayor of that town. Thomas Macro had bought an estate at Little Haugh, Norton, as a country residence, and here his son Cox lived and died, devoting himself to antiquarian pursuits, though he had qualified himself as a physician, and had also taken holy orders. He bought antiquities of many kinds, and in 1766 a catalogue of them was printed. According to the *Dictionary of National Biography* 'many of his manuscripts had belonged to Sir Henry Spelman; others formed part of the library of Bury Abbey.' Cox Macro died in 1767, and fifty-two years later his manuscripts were in the possession of John Patteson, M.P. for Norwich, who unadvisedly sold them (it is said for no more than £150) to a bookseller of that town. The following year they were put up for auction at Christie's, and while forty-one lots were bought by Dawson Turner, the rest, including the Moralities, were bought for £700 by Mr. Hudson Gurney, in whose family they have since remained."

This manuscript has been edited by Professor Alois Brandl in the *Quellen des weltlichen Dramas in England vor Shakespeare*. This edition has been of great service to me, which I hasten to acknowledge. Professor Brandl had to make his edition from a copy of the manuscript.

§ 2. The manuscript is in a good sixteenth-century hand on 28 sheets, numbered 360 to 387. Save for the devastations of a worm at one certain point (unfortunately some words are entirely obscured), it is in excellent preservation. Professor Brandl points out that this cannot be the original copy, because of many careless mistakes, such as only a tired scribe would be guilty of. Thus rhymes are found unnecessarily spoiled; e. g. *clerke* and *worke* (706-7), *morne* and *soroue* (61) (for *morowe*). Further at l. 519 one whole line has been left out, and at l. 1732 two half-lines, which I have conjecturally restored in my note. There are also other instances of careless copying, some of which I have corrected in footnotes, whilst for the rest (as, for instance, sheets 363, 370, 371, 381, etc.) we find lines struck out, or passages written in afterwards in a very fine hand.

§ 3. The play begins with a prologue, which clearly stamps it as a kind of political morality:—

The Name of our playe ys Respublica certaine;  
oure meaninge ys (I saie not, as by plaine storye,  
but as yt were in figure by an allegorye)  
To shewe that all commen weales Ruin *and* decaye  
from tyme to tyme hath been, ys, and shalbe alwaie,  
whan Insolence, Flaterie, Opression,  
and Avarice have the Rewle in theire possession.

But the aim is more specific:

We children, to youe olde folke, bothe *with* harte *and* voyce  
Maie ioyne all togither to thanke god and Reioyce  
That he hath sent Marye our Soveraigne *and* Quene  
to reforme thabusess which hithertoo hath been.

And thus we find in the Vices hintings at more definite people. But of this a statement will be more in place in § 5, where a short history of the reign of Edward VI will be found, as bearing on the time and content of the play.

- I. i. The first act opens with a long and probably comic monologue of Avarice, with something like a patter-song in the middle ("of the offales . . . . pettie fees"). In this, he mentions the dolorous plight into which Respublica (England) has fallen, and states his wish and intention of filling the empty bags on the ragged thief's cloak in which he enters, at her expense. Yet the author, faithful to his rather rudimentary sense of characterization, sends him off the stage in a nervous tremour that he has left his coffer undone and lost his keys.
- I. ii. In the second scene Adulation, Insolence and Oppression continue the action in a vigorous dialogue. Adulation, who has heard the voices

other two, is moved to emulation. But the conversation soon on their sufferings; to relieve which Avarice, the "founder" of I. iii. e, is necessary. He re-enters at this psychological moment, but absorbed in his cares for his moneys and deaf to all else. The cene that follows is extremely happy. Avarice, in his suspicion, ot be appeased, but is full of mistrust. At last he is convinced, nwillingly unfolds his plot. The scene closes in a pantomime e, in which the Vices (who faithful to medieval precedent are y clowns) drill round and round the stage in comic discipline.

the fourth scene, Avarice coaches his pupils in the use of their I. iv. names. Insolence becomes Authority, Oppression Reformation, tition Honesty, and Avarice reserves to himself the high title of . Insolence stupidly acquiesces in the new style which he never ht necessary. Oppression receives his with some intelligence. But tition is so delighted at his pseudonym that he continues boasting of some fourteen lines, and, despite his astuteness, forgets the disguised s of his companions. And, with the promise of Avarice to approach iblica, the act comes to an end.

ct II opens with the somewhat wearisome figure of the "widow" II. i. iblica. She is always lamenting and stupidly pious (cf. IV. i, V. ii, and lines 1759 and 1931). After her monologue of feeble moraliz II. ii. Avarice enters, once more engrossed in his greedy thoughts; hastily des his thief's pockets, turns his coat again inside out, and pers Respublica he is Policy, and thus introduces his friends in their ed parts. In the third scene the anxiety of Adulation to please, as II. iii. second the willingness of Avarice to serve his own cause (cf. lines nd 1334), is brought into the foreground; whilst the characteristic ngs of the Vices in their false attire of virtues are wittily evidenced e dialogue. The crass dulness of Respublica was, to our author's d scope of fancy and dramatization, perhaps an inevitable blemish. eaves the stage unsuspectingly, and Adulation makes his companions songs of glee.

gain postponing to § 5 the very important and somewhat difficult ems of length of action and place, and confining ourselves in this on to a bare outline of the play, we come to the third Act.

Respublica begins it once again with a monologue:—

III. i.

Nowe doe I lesse woondre that lost men, life to save  
Ferre from lande dooe Laboure againste the roring wave;  
for hope, I see, hathe mightie Operacion  
Againstste the Mortall sting of drouping desperacion (601-5).

But she is not informed of what her counsellors are doing; and III. ii. Adulation, who enters immediately hereon, can only praise the policy of III. iii. Avarice: and People comes in to disturb his equanimity.

Here we have another of the characteristic touches of this play. The author has very few devices, but uses those constantly. One of them is that the Vices are always plotting for evil, but each doing his own apart from and without construction with the others. After Respublica in the last act leaves the stage, they are supposed to have dispersed (590–1) each “about his market.” Hence Adulation, who has stayed with Respublica, knows nothing of what has been going on.

People is a clown (note on l. 1027), and at the same time a serious attempt to typify the peasant whose sufferings at the period of the English Reformation were so terrible. He speaks Devonshire or West-country dialect, of which an analysis and special glossary will be found in this volume. His complaints in this scene (III. iii) lack definiteness, a quality which they gain towards the end. With a directness and brusqueness of speech (cf. lines 1112, etc.), and marked obstinacy, he combines a submissiveness and meekness, which is most strongly seen in Act V. x. His other foibles are a tendency to forget words (v. lines 1144, 1592, etc.), and an unwilling and suspicious attitude, without definite reason, towards the Vices. His kindliness and love of Respublica is also strongly marked.

To return then to the analysis of the action, at the outset Adulation cannot understand People at all. Respublica can,—and welcomes him. Adulation, failing to stay the stream of complaint, sympathizes, and asks for a time in which to amend the state of affairs. On Respublica’s assurance, that it is Honesty who is speaking, People gives way and will wait two years. Adulation asks for seven. Respublica and People leave III. iv, v. the stage together, and in scenes iv, v and vi, the four Vices foregather, and compare notes. They have not met since Act II.

Again Avarice is represented gloating on his well-filled bags, and whilst Adulation enviously looks on them, Oppression comes on the stage, hoarse with weariness. Oppression (Reformation) has confiscated many bishoprics, whilst Adulation has only secured a pittance (a considerable sum in those days) of £300 a year. For this he is upbraided.

Oppression tells his tale of how

we enfourmed them / and we defourmed theym,  
we confourmed them and we refourmed theym, (806–7).

whilst Insolence “won the full superiority.”

In vain Adulation endeavours to make them take measures against the

growing discontent of People : Avarice has to tell his tale (III. vi), and again the four sing a song of exultation. Avarice, anxious for his bags, speeds his companions on to take their several ways to wealth, and brings in a Latinized myth of Time and his forelock, which Oppression, the new owner of bishoprics, cannot understand.

III. vi.

The act closes with a monologue of Avarice.

Once more in Act IV Respublica cannot understand why her IV. i. seemingly good guidance brings her to nought. She enters in a ragged costume, and is sorrowfully greeted by People. In the third scene, IV. ii. Avarice has to face a sustained attack, and succumbs to it. Insolence IV. iii. and Oppression in the next scene come to his relief, but the false IV. iv. economic arguments of the latter are too much for People, and convince Respublica. Insolence insists on the necessity of authority, and the tardiness of a radical cure ; but after Respublica retires satisfied, the three Vices give People no breathing-space in the incessant shower of their abuse of him. People makes one last appeal :—

but howe, one worde erche goe / yele geve Volkes leave to thinke ?

Oppression replies :—

No, marie, will we not, nor to looke but winke (1163-4).

And things being now at their worst, in the long final act the Gods come to save Respublica.

The fifth act opens with a hymn of praise by Misericordia, who, on V. i. seeing Respublica approach, followed afterwards by Avarice and Adulation, withdraws. Respublica is in utter despair, and Mercy without more V. ii. ado promises her relief. Avarice enters at this point complaining of pickpockets and demanding more pillories. Mercy departs to fetch Verity, whilst Adulation and Avarice whisper apart. The two try to accommodate themselves to the circumstances, and Avarice, with his usual readiness, follows his companion out on Respublica's behest.

In the third scene, Misericordia and Verity tell Respublica what her V. iii. real condition is, and on the entrance of Peace and Justice all five depart V. iv. in company.

In the fifth, Avarice is even in this extremity discovered in his V. v. lamentations at the general thievery, and remarks, referring to the terrible increase in beggary :

If I had not a speciall grace to saie Naye,  
I wer but vndooen emongst them in one daie (1439-40).

Adulation warns him of the danger, and is despatched with messages.

- V. vi.    Respublica hereupon re-enters, with the inevitable 'O Lorde,' and despite of Avarice's cajoling remonstrances, dismisses him out of hand.
- People, who has been forcibly prevented from seeing Respublica,
- V. vii. comes up again in the seventh scene, already feeling stronger. She bids him stay to detect the Vices in a private conference; and even People laughs at the idea of Respublica of her own motion setting a trap.
- V. viii. But, again in scene viii, consultation ends in failure. Avarice bids each shift for himself, and proposes a song in which Adulation now cannot join.
- V. ix.    In the ninth scene, all the characters excepting Nemesis are assembled. Despite the obvious conclusion, the author has succeeded in putting a great deal of vivacity into the action. Avarice defends himself most ingeniously; Insolence and Oppression have not a word to say; they are convicted by the pulling off of their fine cloaks, and after a speech laudatory of Nemesis (Queen Mary) from the lips of Truth, they are all consigned into People's hands; struggling ensues, until the coming of Nemesis calms the scene.
- V. x.    Nemesis calls upon People to step forward; but the latter has learned his lesson of humility. The Vices all impeach one another. The Virtues conduct the ordinary dialogue regarding the claims of justice and mercy. Nemesis gives her award. Adulation repents and is pardoned. The punishment of Oppression and Insolence is reserved. Avarice is to be 'pressed' like a sponge, and is delivered to the 'Hedd Officer' (1904 and 1909). And with thanks to God and Queen Mary, the play closes.

It will be seen that the author succeeds in individualizing his allegorical characters, and even in giving some little grace of life to the virtues.

§ 4. Who the author was, is very hard of ascertainment. The play was performed in London at Christmas 1553 (v. the Prologue), and local references are found in l. 1634 to Newgate, l. 1695 to Westminster Hall, l. 640 and elsewhere to St. Paul's. (In this last case, a critic might have a shrewd suspicion that the absence of rhymes to 'people,' induced in l. 635, as elsewhere, the mention of St. Paul's steeple).

Internal evidence there is very little. One fact must be set in the forefront; the author, despite his Roman Catholic sympathies, never mentions the Reformation in its doctrinal aspect: it is the social evil, the rapacity and anarchy of the despoilers of the monasteries and see-lands, the encroachings on commons, the spread of sheep-pasturage, the debased coinage that affects him and moves him to higher flights, almost to poetry. (Cf. II. i, III. i, V. i, and generally the laments of Respublica. Also V. l. 1527, et seq.; also §§ 5 and 6.)

At this point with some diffidence I venture to suggest one other faint clue, if not to his identity, at any rate to his more particular description. From the analysis of People's dialect, it will be evident from the frequent slips, from the artificiality and the varying styles (*e. g.* forms of negatives and pronouns), that the dramatist was not quite at home. The orthography and grammar of the literary English are also occasionally peculiar, as will be shown in § 8; but I should like here to call attention to the number of Northern phrases found in the literary part.

Thus we have *bluddings, gobbet, gubbins, hake, hucking, mome, twig, winch, yei*, and in People's dialect *copped*, if not *cobs*.

Leaving then the unsatisfactory and dubious ground of internal sources of information, it has still to be seen whether contemporary documents can throw no light on this darkness.

Assuming, as seems necessary and obvious, that the scene of action and of representation was in London, the various old libraries and foundations where plays were acted might have afforded some help. From the absence of any account or diary at St. Paul's, it is possible to exclude the choristers of that minster.

The Inns of Court also give no indication; but this negative result is not so certain, for I am given to understand that the Readers of the various Inns invited Royalty or other noble guests and entertained them at their own expense, and this *λειτουργία* receives no official mention: consequently, the minutes (which have all been collected) of their 'Parliaments' only deal with internal politics, such as the fining of recalcitrant members, admissions, and leasings of chambers. Further, no regular accounts appear to have been kept by any of the four principal Inns much before 1600; and the Chancery Inns (now suppressed) have no libraries and no records, as far as I have been able to ascertain.

As an instance to prove that this negative evidence has no positive value, it is not irrelevant to state that the acting of *Gorboduc* and other plays in these very Inns rests on entirely extraneous sources of information. Until, therefore, some diary or contemporary history is discovered, we cannot positively say whether or not *Respublica* was performed at any of these ancient hostellries.

Unfortunately, too, the many curious warrants issued by the Master of the Great Wardrobe and countersigned in Mary's firm masculine hand, afford very little assistance.

From the text I should imagine that the play was intended for and received the honour of the Royal patronage.

At this time (as appears from the Wardrobe Accounts 427, bundle

5–15), the ‘Singers’ at Mary’s Court were Richard Atkinson, John Temple, William Mayley and Thomas Kent; she also had a large number of performers on flutes, sagbutts, viols, lutes, harps, drums, fifes, etc.

In 427, bundle 5, 47, we also find the names of Richard Tysdall, Richard Picke (or Pyke), Richard Wodward (Woodward), Robert Beamund (*quare* Beaumont) and Robert Wodward as ‘ordinary musicians.’

The interest of these names is that these ‘welbeloued seruauntes’ are mentioned in two warrants to provide outfits for them against the Christmas festivities of 1553; and it is suggested that we here have something corresponding in time and place with the requirements of our play.

The two documents are subjoined; both come from 427, bundle 11, but are not numbered.

[427, 11.]

*MARY THE QUEENE.*

By the qwene.

We woll and commaunde youe that Imediatelye vppon the syghte hereof you Deliuer or cause to be deliuered vnto owe welbeloued seruante Rycharde Pyke oone of *our* Musityans againste the Feeste of Christmas suche shewtes of Apparrell in as ample and large Maner as other owe Musitians heretofore have byn accostomed to haue at the lyke Feastes of Christmas.

And theise our letters shalbe youre sufficiente warraunte and dischardge in that behalffe.

Yeoven undre owe Sygnet at *our* palacie of westminster the xvij<sup>th</sup> daye of Decembre the furste yere of *our* Reigne.

To our Trustye and welbeloued Counceilour Sir Edward Waldegrave Knighte, Master of *our* greate wardenrobe.

*MARYE THE QUENE.*

By the Quene.

Mary by the grace of God Quene of Englande Fraunce & Irelande Defender of the fayth etc. to our truste & right welbeloued Councillour Sir Edward Wallgrave Knight Master of *our* greate Gwarderobe for the tyme beinge and to the Master of *our* greate Gwarderobe . . . . that herafter shalbe gretinge.

Know ye that our wyll and commaundement is, that youe deliver or cause to be deliuered vnto *our* welbeloued Seruauntes John Temple, Richard Atkinson, Thomas Kent and Wylliam Mayley Servers of our Chamber and oure fower ordenarie Syngers yerely duringe our pleasure againste the feaste of every Christmas, theis parcills of Sylke Followinge.

That is to saie, to every of them, twellue yardes of good blacke vellet, fourtene yardes of good Damaske, and syxe yardes of good Satten.

And theis our Lettres from tyme to tyme shallbe your sufficient warraunt and dyschardge in this behalf.

Yeven vnde our Signet at our pallais of Westminster the viij<sup>th</sup> daye of Decembre in the fyrste yere of our Reigne.

In the course of these investigations, the following warrant was also found (it has been independently published by Miss Stopes in the 'Athenæum' of the 9th Sept. 1905). It would be interesting to discover the play, and it is with the object of further publicity that its mention is obtruded in the introduction to the *Respublica*.

[427/5/9]

*MARYE THE QUENE.* By the quene.

We will and comande you furthwith vpon the sight hereof to provide and deliver to the berer hereof, for the gentlemen of oure chapell for a play to be playde before vs for the feaste of our coronacion as in tymes past hathe ben accustomed to be don by the gentlemen of the chapell, of our progenitors all suche nessessary stuff and other thinges as hereafter folowith :

Item, Genus humanum for a gowne purple breges satten	purple vij yardes
Item, v virgins Cassockes of white breges, satten and vij yardes for every of them that is to say v	xxxv yardes
Item, reason, verytie and plentie, every of them vij yardes	xxj yardes
Self-love a Cassocke of rede satten of breges	vij yardes
Care a Cassocke of grene satten of breges	vij yardes
Skarsitie a womans Cassocke of Russett & satten of Breges	vij yardes
Disease a cassocke of rede breges satten	vij yardes
Sickenes, feblenes, deformitie, thre longe Gownes, one of Tawny satten, the other ashe-colored satten, the other blacke satten for every of hem viij yardes	xxij yardes
For the Epilogge a cassock of black damaske and ix yardes of purple damaske for a longe gowne, for the same	xvj yardes
Item, a shorte gowne of rede damaske for the ende	vj yardes
Item, thre shorte gownes of purple breges & satten for the end, vj yardes for every of them	xvij yardes
The bad angell iij yardes of Kersey and winges for the good angell and the bad, iij thromd hat[tes] and tenn dossion of Counters and what yoze shall lake for the furniture hereof To provide and see them furnished	

RESPUBLICA.

And this shalbe *your Warrantie* in this partie,  
yeven at oure pallace of Westminster the last of  
Septembre in the first yere of oure Reigne /

Of damaske	xxj	yardes
of breges satten vj score xiij	yardes	
of kersey thre yardes /		

To the inexpert commentator, the absence of evidence has some consoling aspects. He might misconstrue his authorities: in the field of speculation, a random shot may fall aright.

English Royalty has always kept in the choristers of the Chapel Royal a trained body of singers and actors. The Rev. Edgar Sheppard, sub-dean of the Chapel Royal, St. James's Palace, in his 'Memorials of St. James's Palace,' says:—

'It would seem that the "Children of the Chapel Royal" contributed their share to the rise of the English stage in the reign and Court of Queen Elizabeth, for during the sovereignty of that illustrious lady, these surpliced lads became a playing company. They were placed under the guidance of a Mr. Richard Edwards who was born in the year 1523, and who eventually became not only Master of the Children, but also one of the Gentlemen of the Royal Chapel. He had poetical and dramatic gifts and was a man of thorough, sound education.'

Unfortunately for our period authorities are lacking: but Sir Thomas Cawarden was at this time Master of the Revels, and Sir Edward Waldegrave (or Wallgrave) Master of the Great Wardrobe.

From the Historical MSS. Commission, vol. vii, pp. 615, the following extract is culled: the reference is to the Loseley Manuscripts, belonging to Mr. W. More-Molyneux. It has never been printed; but the date (1. Phil. and Mary) precludes its utility for our purpose.

#### MICHAELMAS, 1. ELIZABETH.

Roll of an account on six membranes of vellum Offices of the Rents & Revells—The Duplicaments of thacompte of William Moore Executour to Sir Thomas Cawarden Knight deceased late Master of the sayde Offices from the xv<sup>th</sup> day of June Anno Phi et Marie nuper regis et reginal primo et secundo vntill the feaste of St. Michaell tharchaungell Anno Regni Domine Elizabethe Regine primo.

In 1836, however, Mr. A. J. Kempe, F.S.A. (John Murray) published a transcript of the most important of these Manuscripts; and from this book we cite several warrants, which may throw some light on the authorship of *Respublica*, as also on the unknown Coronation play, above mentioned.

The Commissioners thus summarize the whole collection :

'Of the 2,240, displayed in the catalogue, it may be remarked that only 26 were written in pre-Tudor periods, and more than 420 in days subsequent to Elizabeth. Of the 1816 Tudor writings 101 were penned in Henry VIII's time, 163 in Edward VI's, 94 in the days of Mary, and 1447 in the spacious times of great Elizabeth.'

Taking then the Coronation Play first, we copy from Kempe, p. 62, the following warrant in confirmation :

*MARYE THE QUENE.* By the Quene.

We woll and commaund you vpon the syght hereof furthwith to make and deliver out of our revells vnto the gentlemen of our chappell, for a playe to be plaied before vs at the feast of our coronacon<sup>1</sup> as in times past, hathe been accustumyd to be done by the gentlemen of the chappell of our progenitoures, all suche necessarie garments and other things for the furniture thereof, as shal be thought mete and convenient by bill, betwyxt you and too of the sayd gentemen. So as, the playe finished, suche party of the sayd garments may be restoryd into the office of our sayd revells, as customably heretofore hath bene restoryd, and this shalbe your warant in this part.

Geving under our signett att our manour of St. James' the xxvi of September the furst yere of our rayne. To the Master of our Revells and other officers of the same and to every of them.

This footnote obliges us to suppose that the Respublica was intended, for Christmas 1553, but postponed.

We also find (pp. 64) the following cast for another lost play :

*Plot or Scheme of an Interlude, allegorical and satirical, endorsed,  
‘Concernyng an Enterlude.’*

A Kinge,	honor with wisdome	{ A woman with to faces and in each hand a glass }	Pride,	a Pope
A Knighte } in harness	Kighthode, loialtie	{ A woman with a payre of ballance }	Wrathe	a Bishoppe
A Judge	justice with Mercie	...	Envie	a Fryer
A Precher	{ religion with Godde's } Worde	{ A woman with a Bible in her arms }	Covetus	a Person <sup>2</sup>
A Scoller	science with reson		Glotonye	a sole Preste [i.e. celibate]
A Serving-man	Servise with affexion	...	Lecherye	a Monk
	Labor with diligence	{ Labor a woman with many hands }	Slothe	a Hermit

<sup>1</sup> This play, by reason of deferment was served at the Christmas following. Note in one of the Accounts of the Master of the Revels. [Mr. Kempe's note.]

<sup>2</sup> A character wearing a mask. See the item subsequently cited 'covetous men with long noses.' [Mr. Kempe's note.]

H. H. W.

And, lastly, on p. 63, the following warrant is printed, which presents problems of some difficulty, and perhaps gives a faint clue to the authorship of *Respublica*:

**MARYE THE QUENE.**

By the Quene.

Trustie and welbeloved, we gret you well.

And wheras our welbeloved Nicolas Udall hath at soondrie seasons convenient heretofore shewed, and myndeth hereafter to shewe his dilligence in setting foorth of dialogues and enterludes before us for our regell disporte and recreacion, to thentent that he maye bee in the better readinesse at all time whan yt shall be our pleasure to call, we will and comaunde you, and every of you, that at all and every such tyme and tymes, so oft and whan soever he shall nede and require yt, for shewing of anything before vs, ye deliver or cause to bee delivered to the said Udall, or to the bringer herof in his name, out of our office of revelles, such apparell for his use as he shal think necessarie and requisite for the furnisshinge and condigne setting forthe of his devises before vs, and suche as maye bee seemely to bee shewed in our royll presence, and the same to be restored and re-delivered by the said Udall into your handes and custodie again.

And that ye faile not thus to dooe from time to time as ye tendre oure pleasure, till ye shall receive expresse commaundement from vs to the contrary herof. And this shalbe your sufficient warraunte in this behalf.

Geven under our signett the iii daye of Decembre in the second yere of our reigne.

To the maister and yeomen of the office of our Revells for the time being, and to their deputie or deputies theire and to everye of them.

As far as we know, the 'dilligence' at 'soondrie seasons' of Nicholas Udall has only resulted in Ralph Roister Doister, and the authority for this play (*see* Temple Dramatists' edition, and Arber 1869) rests on the unique printed copy at Eton. Only the citation of Ralph Roister Doister's letter of ambiguities in Sir Thomas Wilson's 'Rule of Reason' (3rd edition, 1553) enables us to assign an author.

Yet Mary would not have expressed herself in terms of such generosity without some adequate reason. Can these other plays be traced?

A comparison of the styles of Ralph Roister Doister and *Respublica* leads to some curious results.

In *style*, we find the same loose Alexandrines, imperfect rhymes, and a number of phrases in common.

*E.g.* R.R.D., I. 4. 121-2 *rayment—spent*; II. 3. 31-2 *hande—husbande*; II. 3. 37-8 *resorte—comforde*; III. 2. 59-60 *jest—earnest*; III. 2. 71-72 *gesse* (guess)—*doubtlesse*; IV. 5. 43-4 *witnesse—lesse*; IV. 3. 98-9 *towarde—frowarde*.

Only a few have been selected : they are far more common than in *Respublica* : v. § 7 for examples. If this play were, as is supposed, written in 1552, *Respublica* would mark an advance in style ; its versification is on the whole smother.

*Padded rhymes* are also very common, and seem to be the same.

*E. g.* R. R. D., II. 4. 39–40 *people—Paules steeple* ; II. 3. 73–4, etc. *elves—selves* ; IV. 6. 20–21 *merier—werier*.

On this we cannot insist overmuch ; as even Swinburne sometimes exhibits great paucity of rhymes.

*Rhymes dependent on the then pronunciation* are very common : *e. g.* I. 4. 53–4 *fewe—shewe* ; I. 2. 141–2 *knowe—trowe* ; I. 1. 21–2 *feast—gueast* ; I. 5. 17–18 *you—thou's* ; III. 4. 117–18 *shiere—here*, etc.

On this, again, we do not insist : if there are two authors, as contemporaries their pronunciation would be the same. But *few—show* and *know—trow* as occurring in our text have evoked a special discussion in § 8.

*False rhymes* are similar or the same ; *e. g.* I. 4. 69–70 *that—forgot* (*cf. ninnat—namnot* 1823–4) ; IV. 5. 13–4 *am—man* (*cf. none—home, tyme—afyne*, § 7) ; IV. 3. 25–6 *arming—warning* and assonances like *dotation—mockage*.

The spelling of the plays is very similar ; *e. g. geve, hir, cote, here* (*hear*) *counsaile* ; but *worke* does not seem to occur, and the licence is probably as great in the one as the other.

Amongst the *phrases* shared in common are the words *mome* (III. ii. 86, etc.), *malkin* (I. ii. 84), *masship* (I. ii. 100, etc.), *zembletee* (in our play *zembithee*) (I. iv. 74), *gear* (in general, contrivance) (I. iii. 21, etc.), *pashe* (*paishe*, IV. iii. 122, etc.), *Saint George to Borowe* (IV. 7. 74), *sectour* (III. iii. 62), *our spaniell Rigg* (II. iii. 47 ; *Respublica* 340) ; *bees in the head* (I. iv. 93 ; *cf. Respublica* 66, a hive of humble bees swarmyng in my braine) ; *dawes* (*i. e. dullards*, III. iii. 36, etc. ; *cf. Resp.* 880, etc.) ; *gauding* (III. 4. 1 ; *cf. gaudes* in Glossary) ; *the armes of Caleys* (III. 4. 72, *cf. 782*) ; *Goss* (for *God*, III. 4. 91) (*see* Glossary) ; *ragge of rhetorike* (IV. 3. 81 ; *Resp.* 920) ; *grutch* (IV. 5. 20 ; *Resp. passim*) ; *Cock* (for *God*) (I. ii. 160 ; *cf. Resp.* 950) ; *of likelihood* (probably V. 2. 2, etc.).

References to the *Respublica* for these words will be found in the Glossary, and in § 7 and § 8.

Nor do the similarities end here. Despite the different purpose of the two plays, the treatment is similar : metaphors (v. § 7) are rare, and those few naval : *e. g.* R. R. D., III. 2. 15 :

As water in hir shyppe or salt cast in hir eies.

or IV. 1. 3 :

In suche an outragious tempest as this was,  
Suche a dangerous gulf of the sea to passe.

'what sayst you?' (IV. 8. 14) is like 'you liest' (639 *Respublica*).

Again II. 2. 10 (R. R. D.) :

*Dobinet Doughty.* Yes and he would know if you haue for him  
spoken

and prayes you to deliuier this ring and token.

*Mage Mumblecrust.* Nowe by the token that God tokened, brother,  
I will deliuier no token one nor other.

reads very much like *Respublica* 1032-6 :

*People.* Coumpacing? ka! Ientman, call ye thissame coumpacing?  
And / whom shall we twaine thanke, youe, for this compacing?

*Avar.* No, sir.

*Peop.* Nowe by the compace that God coumpaced, etc.

Again I. 1. 388 :

Nowe myght I speake to them, if I wist what to say  
rings like

Conveighe miselfe hens honestlye, if I wist howe; (1264).

And with

And ioy haue ye, ladie, of yore promotion, (I. 4. 16).

Compare

I am glad that by me yo do suche goodnesse fele (1493).

III. 3. 110 runs :

Yes, I can do that as well as any can.

Cf. 1478 :

This I knowe he will doo, for ons I knowe he can.

Again in Act III. sc. 4, l. 143, we have :

He may yet amende, sir, and be an honest man.

Cf. l. 1885 :

Well, thou maiest yet become a worthie subiecte, yt ys plaine.

In § 6, I say that one of the devices of the author of *Respublica* is a constant repetition of significant words. This is frequently found in *Ralph Roister Doister*, e. g. IV. 2-6-7.

*Sim. Suresby.* When he knoweth of your health, he will be perfect well.

*C. Custance.* If he have perfect health, I am as I would be.

In III. 3. 120 Ralph Roister Doister tries to act a new part, and in IV. 8 there is a scuffle on the stage, for which he dressed up in IV. 3. So in *Respublica*, the change of garb of Avarice and the other vices, as well as of *Respublica* herself, and the cloakings and fights at ll. 423, 1027, 1811, etc. (as noted in § 3) form an important part of the acting.

We might also compare Matthew Mengrade's address to Christian Custance (IV. 3. 74) :

Gentle mistresse Custance, now, good mistresse Custance,  
Honey mistresse Custance, now, sweet mistresse Custance,  
Golden mistress Custance, now, white mistresse Custance,  
Silken mistress Custance now, faire mistresse Custance,

with Avarice's welcome to Verity (1701) :

welcome, faire ladie, swete ladie, litle ladie,  
plaine ladie, smoothe ladie, sometime spittle ladie, etc.

And with the mock-drill at Resp. I. iii. we may compare the arming of the maids at R. R. D., IV. 4.

Besides these textual similarities, the following reasons may be urged in favour of Nicholas Udall's authorship.

First, the arguments from internal evidence as above.

Secondly, the popular dialect of Margaret Mumblecourt is the same as People's, but not elaborated. *E. g.* R. R. D., I. 3. 99 :

God yelde, sir, chad not so much, i chotte, not whan ;  
Nere since chwas bore, chwine, of such a gay gentleman.

If the reader will refer to the Appendix on People's dialect, and the Special Glossary, he will find *chad* (I had), *chwas* (I was), *chwin* (ichwin, Iween), amply represented : *ichotte*, is, *I wot*. And in I. 4. 65 (R. R. D.) we find *zee* for *see*.

Thirdly, Queen Mary is exalted almost in the same style as in *Respublica* : it is the language of a Court dramatist.

*E. g.* R. R. D., V. 6. 45–58 :

God graunt hir, as she doth, the Gospell to protect,  
Learning and vertue to aduaunce, and vice to correct.

Cf. ll. 51–2, Resp. :

And that yls whiche long tyme have reigned vncorrecte  
shall nowe foreuer bee redressed with effecte.

And ll. 1783, 1926, etc.

If, as we have seen, the Coronation play was deferred to Christmas 1553, this must have been longer postponed ; and this would explain ll. 1935–6 :

Praying that hir Reigne mooste graciouslye begonne  
Maie Longe yeares endure as hithertoo yt hath doone.

Fourthly, the clear division into Acts and scenes, and frequency of Latin quotations, e. g. *in nomine patris*, R. R. D., 1. 469, Resp. 764.

Fifthly, the fact both were intended as a kind of comic opera, with songs interspersed : unfortunately in our text, these are not preserved.

Sixthly, the known facts of Udall's life. From internal evidence, both Mr. Westlake and myself (see this section and discussion on People's dialect) had supposed that the author had lived in the North. His strange moderation in dogmatic matters was difficult to explain and hard to exult in, as merely a sign of virtue uncommon at this turbulent time.

But Udall (see his biography in the Temple Classics edition) was born in Hampshire in 1506, proceeded to Corpus, Oxford, and became a moderate Reformer. Probably thence he went as a school-master to the North of England. In 1533 he was a school-master in London, and soon became Headmaster of Eton (until 1541). He then obtained the vicarage of Braintree, Essex (until 1544); and subsequently reached a position of high favour with Princess Mary. In 1549 he was authorized to issue a pacificatory letter to the Devon and Cornwall rebels, and in 1551 became Canon of Windsor. The Catholic revival, so far from affecting him adversely, raised him in the Royal favour; and in 1552 he may have written Ralph Roister Doister; in 1554 he became Court Dramatist. Such a pliant Protestant may well have been non-dogmatic, and his varied experience of English country-life may have made him regard the social evils as all-important.

On these grounds, and on the obvious inference from the warrant of Dec. 3, 1554, I venture to suggest that Nicolas Udall was the author of *Respublica*, and that one day, some such adventitious proof as established him regarding Ralph Roister Doister may be found for this play as well.

In conclusion, I have to thank the authorities of Eton College, St. James' Palace, and many other public bodies, as well as Mr. W. More-Molyneux, the owner of Loseley MSS., for the ungrudging assistance received.

§ 5. It is, no doubt, with some relief that the reader will turn aside from the arid discussion in the preceding sections, to what is, after all, the main purpose, namely, the history of the reign of Edward VI, as illustrating and explaining this play, and as indicating what the length of action is supposed to be.

Before, however, any satisfactory account of this play can be given in its historical bearings, it is an unavoidable necessity to devote a few paragraphs to the events of the time. The six stormy years of the boy-

king present problems on which no two historians seem to agree. Froude is probably biassed ; according to his account, Henry VIII was a successful and wise ruler, and Somerset an only less vicious and selfish character than Northumberland. Mr. A. F. Pollard in his *England under the Protector Somerset*, praises the Protector as a modest statesman, too temperate for the tempestuous times in which his lot was cast, and, although his book does not touch on the history of Northumberland's administration, it is not hard to see that his judgment would have been adverse. The authors of *Social England* denounce Somerset as an offender without the merit of self-consistency in a 'crew of harpies.' Mr. A. F. Pollard, however, strikes one clear and new note, in maintaining that it is impossible to treat the reign as a single epoch.

Henry VIII left a will appointing a council of regency, apparently in confidence that his intentions would be carried out. But the condition in which he left the country forbade of this. The coinage had been debased ; the exchequer was bankrupt, the defences of Calais and Boulogne neglected, and the peasantry discontented at the unsympathy and greed of the new land-owners. A strong man had to take the helm, and Somerset (then Earl of Hertford) usurped an unauthorized but necessary power, with the assent of Parliament and the Council. There were associated with him, Lisle, Wriothesley (who afterwards had to withdraw), the Earl of Warwick (later the Duke of Northumberland), Sir William Paget, and Denny, the chief gentleman of the Chamber. In respect to foreign affairs, Charles V was alienated, and the accession of Henry II of France brought England a new enemy.

Subsequently Somerset obtained himself a confirmation of his authority from Edward.

Somerset seems on the whole to have been a generous but unpolitic ruler. His efforts to force an alliance between England and Scotland failed ; the Statute of Treason (1 Edw. VI, c. 12), the attempts to solve the social problem, which had become incurably acute in this age of transition, and, above all, the cessation of religious persecution stand to his credit. He governed with the aid and advice of Parliament, and a select camarilla of the Privy Council ; he set up a Court of Requests in his own house, and the Privy Council, sitting in the Star Chamber, acted as a court of summary justice. His intentions were good, but in this troublous time there was no place for the vacillations of a moderate man. In 1548 Cornwall rose ; and Somerset's action was typical of the man : he issued proclamations in the popular cause, and restrained the violence of such zealous defenders of new-won property as

Sir Peter Carew. In 1549, when Ket raised the standard of revolt in Norfolk, the patience and temperance of Somerset was equally well shown. In this Introduction it is not proper to give any detailed history; we cannot altogether accept Froude's estimate, 'that his intentions had been good, but there were so many of them that he was betrayed by their very number,' since nothing can well exculpate his gentleness in dealing with Sir William Sharington's frauds (the master of the Bristol mint), nor his wholesale pilfering of lands, nor the failure to deal with the chantries in a more equitable way. Schools were indeed founded, as the statute-book of Edward VI under Somerset shows, but clerical learning fell into such decay, the universities even were so impoverished, that men might well be discontented. It is to this effect of the Protestant avarice that the author of our play is referring towards the end of I. vi.

Froude also quotes from Holinshed a prophecy which had gone abroad, at the time of Ket's rising, 'That there should no king reign in England; that the noblemen and gentlemen should be destroyed; *the realm to be ruled by four governors*, to be elected by the commons holding a parliament; the commotion to begin at the South and the North Seas.'

Whether our author had these 'four governors' in his mind, and impersonated them in his four Vices, is a speculation, interesting indeed, but not capable of definite answer.

It has already been stated that Somerset did not persecute. But he was compelled to imprison Bishops Bonner and Gardiner for recalcitrancy; and Gardiner remained in the Tower until Mary's accession, despite Somerset's efforts to get him released.

In V. ix. in the long dialogue between Verity and Avarice (l. 1706), the following phrase occurs, and it may well be a reference to Gardiner's unflinching conscientiousness:—

*Verytee. The booke saieth Veritas de terra orta est.*

*Avar. happie is he which hathe that garden platte, I trowe,  
owte of which suche faire blossomes doe spring & growe.*

In 1549, *i. e.* two years after the accession of Edward VI, Somerset fell, not for the magnitude, but the insufficiency of his crimes. His Council and his Parliament were the representatives of the new nobility, that had no ancestral sympathy with the cultivators of the soil; and Somerset had espoused the popular cause, whilst endeavouring to restore order. His very brother had turned against him in jealousy.

Northumberland now gained the supreme power, and retained his

dominion safe in consistent ruthlessness, until swept away in the wake of Catholic revolution.

At this point it will be convenient to revert to the chronology of the play. Acts I. and II. are occupied with the making and the carrying out of the plot, and are evidently intended to be continuous.

But in Act III. *Respublica* enters, vaguely content, and curious for an account of her estate. People makes his first complaint, but is easily satisfied, even by Adulation. But he remarks (l. 722) :—

Chil warte all within *twoo* years as plentye  
as twas eny tyme within these yeres twyse twentye.

These two years should have been enough to restore the country to its prosperity under Henry VII, who died in 1509 ; this play must be supposed to last the whole reign of Edward VI and begin in 1547.

And in Act III. (v. 794) we have another reference to the passing of time : Adulation, egged on to discontent at his small share, says :—

he here [Oppression] hath the fytched the bisshoprikes alreadie.

If then the history of the second epoch in Edward's reign be shortly resumed, the action of the play in its general features will be made clear, whilst all references to particular grievances and special complaints are reserved for the notes.

The supersession of Somerset by Northumberland did not indeed mean the former's instant execution. He was allowed to live on until January 22, 1551, sometimes imprisoned, sometimes free. But, fallen even and a shadow, his former greatness threatened to overshadow Northumberland and his meaner policy ; by force of contrast, Somerset became a popular hero ; and, lastly, he could not approve or connive at the persecutions of Bonner, Gardiner, Mary, not to speak of humbler folk. In 1550 Northumberland was being assailed, and Somerset, out of jealousy or ambition, or a sense of right, did hatch some kind of conspiracy against him. But the articles of indictment were, beyond all doubt, based on exaggeration and perjury, and, even thus, failed of their purpose ; for it was as a felon, and not as a traitor, that Somerset fell.

The rise of Northumberland to power was the signal for new deprivations and a dogmatic Reformation. Without religious convictions of any determinate kind, the new governor saw fit to embrace the cause of the Reformers ; and, if the pride of Somerset had regularized a larger degree of freedom, without deigning to consult the clergy, the irreligious spirit of Northumberland forced England into truculent and persecuting Protestantism. He was hailed as the champion of the New Faith. But

what were his works? The Devon Commons had already complained of the new service as the letting forth of God's service like a Christmas play. University endowments were seized: the coinage debased still further, called down to its new value and then further debased. The teston or shilling was cried down to sixpence in 1551, and prices continued to rise, especially as, despite the constant Commissions, commons continued to be enclosed, and plough-lands were given to shepherds.

In 1551 a proclamation was issued that every creditor, artisan, servant was to receive his old debt in the new coinage (cf. ll. 1078–86); and this too, when the Sweating Sickness broke out: and then the nation was invited to pray against the sin of covetousness.

In the same year the woods of the see of London were cut down, and the demesnes of Winchester and Durham appropriated.

In 1552 the new Prayer-book was ready, and passed by the Act of Uniformity. This is probably the meaning of l. 998 (IV. ii) :—

Was not he [Policy] drownde, trowe, last yeare, whan Conscience was?

If there was peace, it was because the strength of Charles V was broken by the Peace of Passau (1552), and France was temporarily satisfied by the surrender of Boulogne. In the general misery, even preachers could not be found, and the service of religion ceased.

Early in 1553, Edward VI, whose pathetically wise comments on his evil days have survived in his diary, was evidently sickening unto death. Northumberland, seeing the result of his policy (he had been compelled to surround himself with body-guards), forced king, bishops and lords to approve of the succession of the House of Suffolk.<sup>1</sup> This may, perhaps, be what Avarice hints at, when he asks, which Verity is coming, is it old Time's daughter? For she must be staved off (ll. 1291 and 1699). He failed, and paid for his failure with his life. Mary was rapturously received, as bringing some prospect of change, and any change would be, it was felt, a relief. It is sad to think how unworthy she was of the enthusiasm that greeted her (as, for example, in this play), and of her opportunity: how little wisdom she had learned in the school of adversity.

We have seen that there is a two years' interval between Acts II. and III.; between Acts III. and IV. there is evidence that three or four years are supposed to pass. That some considerable time has elapsed is evident from People's querulous complaint (1017, IV. iii) :—

vor zome good might ha bee doone in all this season.

<sup>1</sup> v. next section.

And in l. 1021 he bewails his poverty :—

vive or zixe yeare ago chad vowre kine to my paile.

Cf. ll. 1601 and 1777 ; *i. e.* before the advent of the regencies.

Act IV. and Act V. are one continuous unravelling of the plot.

A further question remains : are any specific statesmen intended by the four Vices ? To this no answer can be given in unqualified terms ; the author evidently conceives the Reformation as Oppression apparelling itself in the specious garb of improvement, and arming itself with insolence (*e. g.* the interference of the laity in ecclesiastical matters, cf. Act IV. iv) as its authority.

But Avarice is given to summary punishment, although previously dismissed. This incongruity, in my view, can only be a reference to the deposition, and subsequent execution of the Protector, as well as to the fate of Northumberland ; and Somerset and Northumberland may well to the liberal Catholics of that day have seemed an incarnation of avarice.

Adulation, however, is forgiven. There are two prominent statesmen of this epoch who weathered successfully the storms of the policies of Somerset, Northumberland, Mary and Elizabeth, namely, Sir William Paget and Sir William Cecil. Whether these were intended or not, cannot be definitely pronounced.

Enough, however, has been said to show the intimate connection of this play, and the social and political history of the reign of Edward VI.

§ 6. The length of the action of the play has now been indicated. In this section the grievances of the time as exposed by our author will be briefly detailed.

The actors in the real historical drama were rather the victims than the makers of adverse circumstance. It was the day of transitions — political and social. From a military point of view, the small population of England was no longer capable of taking the field in sufficient force to combat the great hosts which a united France and an Empire augmented by marriage could marshal on the Continent. Our hold on Calais and Boulogne was really dependent on the weakness of France, temporarily faction-ridden. Even under Elizabeth, our hesitating support of the Netherlands was of little practical service. The sea, which was to be our domain, was still unthought of ; and thus with a dwindling effectiveness on land, and an undevelopment on sea, England could not take any rank.

The economic situation was also changing. The ceaseless course of turning ploughland into pasturage was not merely an avaricious whim of

the landowners, it was the recognition by them that this would be the most commercially profitable use both to themselves and therefore to the country. There were indeed some statesmen under Edward VI who advised this transformation and endeavoured to set up in England not only a great pastoral industry but also to transplant from the Netherlands their great textile activities. But this larger view was not common ; and the enclosures were made with disastrous rapidity, which was well described by Sir Thomas More nearly fifty years before the date of this play in his *Utopia*.

“‘But I do not think that this necessity of stealing arises only from hence [the system of retainers] ; there is another cause of it, more peculiar to England.’ ‘What is that?’ said the Cardinal : ‘The increase of pastures,’ said I, ‘by which your sheep, which are naturally mild, and easily kept in order, may be said now to devour men and unpeople, not only villages, but towns ; for, wherever it is found that the sheep of any soil yield a softer and richer wool than ordinary, there the nobility and gentry, and even those holy men, the abbots, not contented with the old rents which their farms yielded, nor thinking it enough that they, living at their ease, do no good to the public, resolve to do it hurt instead of good. They stop the course of agriculture, destroying houses and towns, reserving only the churches, and enclose grounds that they may lodge their sheep in them . . .’”

Beggary was of course the immediate result ; but a purely agricultural England could not, if self-supporting materially, have advanced in commerce, or, under stress of competing industry and the need of defence, have taken up an attitude of defiance to the Spanish monopolies.

Again, the Reformation in England, occasioned though it was by the uxorious habits of Henry VIII, was really the consistent culmination of English polity, which had always protested against foreign jurisdiction. The papal supremacy was too often abused, merely to keep a vast number of benefices in the hands of Italian ecclesiastics, or to exact from English priests the larger amount of their earnings, thus diverting from England money which should have been usefully spent in the country. In the pre-Reformation, which was quashed by its untimeliness (for the other nations were not prepared to follow in Wiclif’s wake), this economic unrest was the primary cause. In its subsequent development, Lollardry, like the Anabaptists of Münster (1533), led the discontent of the masses to revolt, and heralded dogmatic changes. But the peasant revolts that everywhere were symptomatic of the religious Reformation were too violent and failed.

In England, that same strong national feeling which would have none of Henry III's submissiveness was eager to support the Act of Supremacy, but not the necessary corollary of such an iconoclastic revolution in doctrine as Northumberland wished to introduce, in alliance with Knox, to whom he offered a bishopric. Even after the grim lesson of Mary's revenge, Elizabeth found it wise to steer a middle course.

The despoiling of the monasteries deprived the people of their accustomed refuge, and the creation of a new nobility on the booty (the old aristocracy was almost extinct) was not popular, more especially as, in their own small way, the newly-enriched classes sought to avail themselves of their material and spiritual resources for self-aggrandisement with no less forwardness than the princes who ranged themselves under Luther's standard.

This, then, was England's situation at the death of Henry VIII. Caught already and enfeebled in this whirl of economic, political and social transformations, impoverished and blind with the inability of contemporaries to foresee the trend of good in the transitory evil, she had still to undergo her last and most terrible Regency, and she had good cause for lament.

It is, however, with a wise reticence, only the social anarchy that inflames our unknown author.

The fitness of his time for these specious defalcations he indicates in line 87 :

And nowe ys the tyme come that, except I be a beaste,  
een to make vp my mouth, and to feather my neste.

The following lines (92–104) show how forfeitures had been invented, escheats blindly brought about, and skimmings (*flettaunces*) given to the state. Conscience is dead (cf. lines 481 and 1598 when Nemesis has come), and money is got by hook or by crook, especially by the crook pastoral.

Livings are to be distributed (l. 282) to the friends of Insolence and Avarice; parsonages (l. 809) are bought from *Respublica* and sold to bishops at their highest value, and let for ninety-nine years; bishops know no Latin (l. 918); and those who minister to the people can be bare clerks (l. 959), Sir John Lack-Latins, and receive a pittance; these rectorships are bestowed on the tyrannical *νεόπλουτος*, the 'Prior of Prickingham' (885), a name that somehow recalls Do-the-boys Hall.

To the Homilies issued under Northumberland's rule, we have a distinct reference in Avarice's jeer (l. 793) :

Geate more / or I shall geve thee a homlye greetinge /

Some of the references to the profits of pasturage and enclosures are lines 309–10; 799–805, where the spoliation of episcopal demesnes, e. g. Durham, Winchester, London, is clearly contemplated; 1092–33.

In § 5 the grievances regarding the depreciated coinage have been indicated. The ingenious arguments of ll. 1084–9 are not imaginary. Froude quotes them from historical sources.

In l. 768 Avarice says significantly he has filled his purses with old *aungelots* and *Edwardes*. In ll. 1076–1084 we have a very vigorous indictment. That the old bells were melted down, stands undeniable; and the export of bell-metal was forbidden by statute (2 and 3 Edw. VI, c. 37). Somerset called the coin down to its true value, and endeavoured to fix the price of food in famine-time. In my notes I deal with these topics more fully.

The last head is that of political references, and of these there are very few.

Referring to the robberies of see-lands, Oppression remarks,  
and some [bishops] would in no wyse to owre desyres applye.  
But we have Roddes in pysse for them everye chone,  
That they shalbe fylched yf we reigne, one by one. (819–21.)

There must be some hint at the treatment of Gardiner and Bonner, who were imprisoned and their lands seized.

ll. 1547–52 contain an obscured attack at Northumberland's attempt to dethrone Mary. The meaning seems to be this. The Northumberland family gained and still own a great deal of Kent, and the extent of the power of the Warwick and Somerset families may be intended. On the other hand, I am indebted to a friend for a luminous suggestion. l. 1548 refers to the acquisition of lands in Kent by Northumberland; l. 1549 to the arrangement for a marriage between Guilford Dudley and Margaret Clifford (daughter of the Earl of Cumberland)—she afterwards did marry Edmund Dudley, the Duke's brother.

l. 1550. The Earl of Warwick became Duke of Northumberland.  
l. 1552. Berwick was in the see of Durham. Northumberland deposed Tunstall, and despoiled the see.

Again, in l. 1688 Peace makes a cutting answer when Avarice (Northumberland) pleads that he has kept peace. How this was I have indicated in § 5; Somerset had made war and uselessly; but with some purpose in view.

In l. 1927 Nemesis says :

Well, I muste goe hens to an other countreye Nowe.

In my note I have suggested, this may seem that Protestantism in

Germany, triumphant at Passau, must be quelled. (The Augsburg Convention was in 1555.)

The author evidently did not intend to mean too much. Perhaps his Catholicism was not fanatic: perhaps he took his cue from the studied moderation Mary put forward in proclamation in her first year of difficulty. In external politics he takes little interest, and I doubt whether the complaints embodied in this play do anything more than exemplify anew those well-worn and terrible hardships of which every writer almost of that day, and every statute is eloquent.

§ 7. Under this head a few remarks regarding style and rhymes must be made.

The play is written throughout in Alexandrines. But this metre, unsuitable as ever for English, is, despite the author's want of skill, already profoundly modified. There is no attempt at a regular cæsura; and, if there is no *enjambement*, this, at least, is a defect shared by him with nearly all pre-Elizabethan writers.

The scheme however is syllabic, and not accentual—a great advantage, as preventing excessive monotony. Thus feminine rhymes are constantly found in twelve-syllabled lines. As an instance of this syllabic measure, we might refer to ll. 1753–4:

*Veritee.* Now doe of thie gowne, & tourne the[e] inside outward.  
*Avarice.* Leate me alone / and an Angell for a rewarde.

Other examples of the sort will readily be found, e.g. *mannyē—compaignie*, 966–7, and elsewhere.

These rhymes, further, always go in couplets, excepting Misericordia's hymn in V. i, which is in quatrains. But couplets can be carried on almost indefinitely on the same rhyme.

Thus we find four rhymes at ll. 245, 343, 501, 546, 554, etc., etc.; six at 1741, 1765, 1833; three at 405, 422; eight at 477 and 712; fourteen at 383; and lastly an attempt at internal Leonines at 772 and 1345.

The next point we have to observe is the freedom regarding the number of syllables. It would be tedious to enumerate the many instances of hendecasyllabic lines; whilst, no doubt passing a large number over, I have noted over forty, e.g.

for whan pleaseth God suche comon weales to restore. (l. 29.)

Thirteen syllables are sometimes found, e.g.

I heare yt toulde for trouth. Policye, all wilbee nought. (l. 1278.)  
Cf. l. 1253, etc.

RESPUBLICA.

Decasyllables do not seem to occur.

The quality of the rhyming present features of some interest. Feminine rhymes are found, and can be merely assonant; simple rhymes are often false, or constantly end on the same syllable, or even the same word; often the rhyme and sense is forced owing to the dramatist's lack of ease.

(a) Assonance, e. g. we have *spoken—open*, at 117–18, 227–8 and elsewhere; *favour—labour*, at 331, 1159, etc., etc.; *Misericordia—corda*, at 1323; *yonder—longer*, at 1613; *ninnat—namnot*, 1823. Other instances will be found.

(β) Simple rhymes but false. (We must carefully distinguish such rhymes as *dere—where*, l. 671; *beaste—neste*, 87; *together—hither*, etc., which were due to the pronunciation.)

As false rhymes we have: *none—home*, 805; *time—afyne*, 1699. Other instances of bad rhymes will be easily noticed.

(γ) Rhymes on the same syllable or word are very common, e. g. *maladie—ladie*, 506; *wytt—whytt*, 698; *me—me*, 700; *remedie—melodie*, 898; *ha vs—ha vs*, 1561. Again this is only a small selection.

(δ) The author has very few rhymes; and uses them with no thought of economy. There are thus many passages where the accident of ending the line on one word, determines the meaning of the next, because of his somewhat limited vocabulary, and the comparatively meagre resources of English in the matter of rhymes.

E. g. to *self* we get *elf* as a rhyme, in 259, 1011, 1832, etc.; *grote* and *throte* are coupled together in 311, 1590, 1691, etc.; *space*, *grace*, *place*, grow together incessantly; as also *voice* and *rejoice*, *walk* and *talk* (168, 181, 611, 1665); *weary* and *merry* are always conjoined, often ludicrously, (e. g. 776, 1471); *people* always induces a mention of St. Paul's *steeple*; *wurse* that of a *purse* or *curse*, and, whilst, as only one example of a forced line, we might cite:

This same I got by sectourshipp of my Mother  
A vengeance on hir, old witche, for suche an other. (864–5)

So too *downe* is invariably followed by a reference to *cylie and towne*, (1301, 1785, etc., etc.)

This poverty of resource is one of the greatest blemishes in the play; one, too, which the reader will be only too able to exemplify more amply for himself.

In this section, I have now given a short account of the metre, and versification; a few remarks upon the style will bring this subject to a close.

The style scarcely rises above rhymed prose, although it runs very much more easily than Ralph Roister Doister. The humour is of a comparatively high order, because the dramatist is so serious, and puts the Reformation arguments in so unfavourable a light, *e.g.* the scenes where the Vices defend their conduct to People and the Virtues in Acts III, IV and V. His sense of the comic comes out well in Act I, where Avarice disciplines his companions, and where they show their evil exultation, as also in the clownish appearance and acting of People (cf. notes on ll. 423, 1028) : the struggles of the Vices when consigned to People in V. ix, must also have afforded some rough humour congenial to a popular audience. The by-play in the frequent 'asides' (*e.g.* in all the conferences of the Vices with Respublica) must also have had a comic effect.

One of the devices frequently found is a repetition of the same word, *e.g.* l. 534-5.

*Adul.* I will doe hir double servis to another!

*Avar.* ye double knave youe, will ye never be other?

And in IV. iii, 'compassing' and the constant gibing on it. Or again :

Suche gredie covetous folke as nowe of daies been,  
I trowe before these present daies wer never seen. (1431)

The metaphors used are very few, and almost always naval, *e.g.* ll. 443, 602, etc., etc. Similes are more frequent and elaborate; *e.g.* Time and Occasion in Act IV. vi, and Act V. ix. As I have said before, the style very rarely rises. I have indicated under § 4 and in this section, the passages where it seems to me that the earnestness of the writer lends his work genuine pathos or humour.

It must, however, be observed that the author, like all writers of that day and long after, freely introduces Latin phrases, and quotes in l. 41, Mat. 21. 16; for l. 1016, cf. 2 Sam. 5. 23, or 2 Kings 3. 9, or Acts 28. 13; in l. 1284, Ps. 85. 10; in l. 1530, Sap. 1. 15; in l. 1532, Amos 5. 7; and in l. 1706, Ps. 85. 11.

§ 8. For the arrangement of the following facts, I am indebted to the kind assistance and expert knowledge of my friend, Mr. J. S. Westlake.

In this section I propose to deal with the spelling of the manuscript, and grammatical and other forms.

I. Taking the orthography first, despite its apparent chaos, there is some order observable.

First then, as a general rule mute e's can be inserted and left out at pleasure.

xxxiv    § 8. *Orthography, Grammar and Pronunciation.* [INTROD.]

Secondly, *y* and *i* are interchangeable.

Thirdly, *w* and *u* represent the same sound as vowels, e. g. *thowe, thou*.

Fourthly, *gh* is a purely graphic sign and intervariable with *w* and *y*, e. g. *staigh, conveygh, wrowte, soute, flyghth* (flieth), *oughhe*.

Fifthly, *ea* is found, but not *oa* (for which *o* is used, e. g. *brode*).

Sixthly, the M.E. diphthong *ie* is of frequent occurrence.

Seventhly, *oo* represents *ō* and *ū*, e. g. *soo* and *woo, doe, dooe, doo, too, to*.

Dismissing, then, these easier criteria we come to certain well-marked differences.

We will take the development of the Middle-English sounds as shown in the orthography.

A. (1) (a) M.E. *ā*, as is known from the *Hymn to the Virgin* and the consensus from Salesbury up to Cooper, was in flux; e. g. *knave* (228), *ladie*.

We also find *sware* (swear) (1131). This spelling indicates an approximation to the sound of *ā*, which seems to have been sounded like long *a* in *grand*.

(β) *ā*. Of this we are unable to determine the pronunciation.

E. (2) (a) Long M.E. *é* (cf. French *été*) is represented by *ea*; e. g. *least* (also *lest*), *leate, leat* (let, i. e. permit). In M.E. open syllables before a mute *e*, it is represented by *e* or *ea*.

It is important to note that *leate* is always *lassen* and *let* is *let* (hinder).

This sound is found in combination with *w*, e. g. *shewe* is rhymed with *fewe* (1709–10). The same sound is preserved before *z* in *cayes* (keys), of which the singular is found as *kye*.

Contemporary authorities up to the last decade of the sixteenth century state that this *é* was pronounced as such, before *w*, and before *z* (e. g. *cayes*).

(β) M.E. *é* (e. g. German *sehen*). This sound is mostly represented by *e* or *ee*, seldom by *ea*, e. g. *three, nedes, kepe, heare* (here), *theaff*. The same sound is noted in *shepe*.

A similar confusion is found in other texts 1540–1550.<sup>1</sup>

When this sound is derived from the Old French *ie* (*matière*), it is represented by *ie*, *e* or *i*, e. g. *matier, manier, relive*.

The pronunciation of this sound *é* was popularly *i* (continental). From rhymes it would seem that the author was striving after a different model, e. g. *relive* rhyming to *geve* and *believe* (believe). In unstressed syllables it would keep its original sound shortened.

<sup>1</sup> v. E.E.T.S. Extra Series XIII. Examples in Tindal are dubious.

None of these sounds are to be confused with the occasional spelling of M.E. ē by *e* or *ea*, e. g. *theare* (there), *eche*. In *heare* (here) M.E. ē was sounded as ē.

In combination with *w* we find *mued* (mowed), *newe, rewle, trewthe, treuth, brueth, trueth*.

From contemporary description, this was always the equivalent of French *ü*.

(γ) ē kept its M.E. sound, except before *r* plus consonant; e. g. *Barwicke* (rhyming with *Warwick*), *harte*. *Ea* is found for ē; e. g. *geat, geate* (get).

(δ) *Final e* was mute (except in French words in *te*; e. g. *authorite*, more often spelt *-ee* or *-ie*). Mute *e* is a sign of length; e. g. *thoue*. In many cases it is doubtful whether *e* lengthened, as in *smale—cale* (*small—call* are also found), or was a mere reminiscence.

I. (3) (α) i represented two sounds; e. g. *Nieckname*, 1536; *piek, purse, quike, and pieke, pick*. In Salesbury and the *Hymn to the Virgin*, a double transliteration of i is found, viz. *i* before gutturals, labials and final, and *y* before dentals and frontals. The former points to French *i* to-day (*pitié*) (which was the M.E. sound), and the latter to the modern English *i* (e. g. *bit*); the latter absorbed the former. Hence *ie* before *k* in present text.

The spelling *ie* before gutturals seems to be derived from the very common spelling *ie* finally, which rhymes with French ē (cf. rhyme of final *y* to a so-called *e* sound in modern English).

(β) ī. This vowel was in transition between the continental sound and the modern diphthong. This is evidenced by Gill and his contemporaries, who draw subtle distinctions between the diphthong *ei* (M.E. ī) and the old diphthongs *ei* and *ai*. The difference is in the first component. In the *Hymn to the Virgin* and Salesbury, English *i* is denoted by Welsh *ei*. That something like this was the pronunciation of our author is shown by such rhymes as *cayes—dayes*: *cayes* showing *ei*, and *dayes* being nearer to *ai* or *ai*. In the singular we find *kye*; *i*, therefore, was sounded *ei*.

O. (4) (α) M.E. ȶ (e. g. *small*) is represented by *oo*. These spellings (*o, oo, oe, ooe*) are never confused with *ou, ow*. It differed from M.E. in approximating to the sound of *so* in German.

In rhyme this is found in combination with the M.E. ȶ (German *so*); e. g. *soo—vntoo*, 1389–90. This rhyme cannot be exact from comparison with other rhymes in pure ȶ's, e. g. *soo—gooe*, 1313–4; *soo—woe, no—wo*, 770–1.

( $\beta$ )  $\bar{o}$  had two pronunciations : (i) The vulgar, as  $\bar{u}$ .

(ii) The older,  $\bar{o}\bar{o}$ .

From 1530–1563 Palgrave and others testify to (ii) : and (i) receives the evidence of contemporary and all later writers.  $\bar{o}$  is also often spelt *ou* or *ow* ; e. g. *behouff* (76), *forsouthe* (483).

*o* before *n* and *m* representing French  $\bar{o}$  becomes *ou* ; e. g. *compace*, *cumplice*, *counterfaicte*, *countrye*, *counsaile*.

$\bar{o}$ , as lengthened in M.E. before *rd*, *rth* has a similar pronunciation ; e. g. *woorde* and *foorth* to  $\bar{o}$ .

( $\gamma$ )  $\bar{o}$  probably retained the Middle English sound, and, as in M.E. occasionally denoted an *u* sound.

*U.* (5) (i)  $\bar{u}$  had two pronunciations.

(a) Vulgar of a diphthong that has passed out of the language, and was represented contemporarily as *ou*, or *ov*.

( $\beta$ ) As  $\bar{u}$ , e. g. *mouthed*, *moothed*, where the sound must have been  $\bar{u}$ .

The sound (a) prevails in the text, and is spelt *ow*, *ou*, *owe*, *oue*, and its existence is more clearly shown by such spellings as the following : *woonder*, *sproong*, and, on the other hand, *plounge*, *spoungle*, *roune*, *yowе*, *thowе*.

These spellings must be distinctly kept apart from cases in which *ow* denotes  $\bar{o}u$  ; e. g. *growe*—*trowe*, 1707–8.

This rhyme is not exact : *growe* being by contemporary grammarians represented as  $\gamma\rho\omega v$ , and *trowe* as  $\tau\rho\omega v$ .

(ii)  $\bar{u}$  is represented by *u*, *ou*, and *o* ; in all cases having the same value of *u* in *put* ; e. g. *but*, *costodie* (1917), *hongre* (1343).

It must be carefully noted that the modern sound *but* is quite a century later.

#### (6) *Diphthongs.*

(i) *ew*. This has been discussed under *e*.

(ii) *ow* (a) *gw*, from *aw* ; ( $\beta$ ) *gw* from *ow*.

Both are probably one sound in the text ; e. g. *growe*, *knowe*.

A rhyme *growe*—*trowe*, 1707–8, has been already noted ; it is impossible to conceive this rhyme in Modern or Middle English. That it did occur shows that the sounds were similar.  $\gamma\rho\omega v$  is described as having its first component longer than that in  $\tau\rho\omega v$ . The evidence for this is contemporary. A century later, *grow* would be represented by  $\gamma\rho\omega$ , and *trowe* is described as having a short guttural component in the beginning, almost the German *trau*.

A large number of variant sounds are evidently concealed under the symbol *ow*. We find also *oughe* for *owe* (274), *thoughe*.

(iii) *ay* and *ey* are the same, in spite of contemporary efforts to distinguish them, e.g. *faine*, *feith*, *faith*. Gill complains that the common people pronounced *ȝai* and *ȝei* haphazard. See the remarks on the rhyme *cayes*—*dayes*.

(iv) *au* [*ow* in *cow*] is represented by *au*, *aw*, *ow*, e.g. *saw*, *haulf*. This sound became our modern sound (e.g. *law*). *Sowte* and *soughte* represented a similar sound, cf. *doughter* (daughter). As early as 1500 these two sounds were confused before *gh*, in the one sound *ou*.

*Au* also may represent the French nasal, e.g. *cognisaunce*, and even in English words *understaund*.

(7) *Consonants.*

(i) *K* and *g* were not mute before *n*.

(ii) Forms in *sh* are found in three places: *sh[e]wete* (108), *shwere* (1649), *shwete* (1867).

A seeming instance of the contrary *wissed*, l. 2, is a scribe's mistake for *wished*.

(iii) Final *tion*, *cion* might be pronounced *son* (cf. *benison*), but with a palatalized *s*, e.g. *imagination*—*mason* (655–6).

II. The Grammar.

(i) Use of present form for past participle, as in People's dialect, e.g. *to have fall*, l. 1542; *had I not take theym*, l. 1764; *would I have stretche*, l. 1549.

In line 1632 *scudde* is used as the participle like *trod*. *while tyme is late on lode*, l. 901. Cf. l. 1444.

(ii) Persons and verbal forms. Singular verb with plural. (a) e.g. *thabuses which hithertoo hath been*, l. 50; *whan all the wordes . . . doeth disagree*, l. 1528.

(β) Old form of 2nd person plural: *what saieth youe*, l. 1879 (*Nemesis is speaking*).

(iii) Numerals take a singular noun, except in ll. 961, 1036, 1760.

(iv) *The* and *to* are combined with the following word; for examples vide the Glossary. We even find *throode*, l. 1036.

(v) Double negatives are found in ll. 672, 693, and 11, 214, 1673, etc.

(vi) Peculiar and archaic forms. Of these we will note here:

First, the boldest archaism and unique: *Suche gredie . . . folke as nowe of daies been*, l. 1431.

Secondly, the variations for the number 100, for which see the Glossary.

(vii) The Northern pronoun *till* and *until* is often used for *to*, e.g. l. 545 and 1062; and of the use of *at* in l. 262.

Thirdly, such forms as the following : *ha* for *have*, *againste* for *again*, *renne* for *run*, and more common (though *roune* occurs once), *all thing* for *everything*, *fet* for *fetch*, *verament* for *verily*.

With these cursory remarks, I close the discussion on the orthography and grammar. Some of the stranger forms may be due to the scribe's evident haste and inaccuracy. But most of them are peculiar, and seem to me to be original.

§ 9. And at the end, the last and pleasantest duty remains over. I have to thank Mr. J. H. Gurney (who has kindly lent his manuscript), Dr. Furnivall, Professor Skeat, Mr. R. W. Chambers, Mr. J. S. Westlake, Mr. P. A. Daniel, and many others, for the many hints and directions they have given in a work I could never otherwise have brought even to this insufficient stage of completeness.

A merye enterlude entitled Republica, made in the  
yeare of oure Lorde 1553, and the first yeare  
of the moost prosperous Reigne of our moste  
gracious Soverainge, Quene Marye the first : /

[leaf 360]

## THE PARTES AND NAMES OF THE PLAIERS.

The Prologue.	a Poete.
Avarice.	alias policie, The vice of the pliae.
Insolence.	" <i>Authoritie</i> , The chief galaunt.
Oppression.	" <i>Reformation</i> , an other gallaunt.
Adulation.	" <i>Honestie</i> , The third gallaunt.
People.	representing the poore Commontie.
Respublica.	a wydowe.
Misericordia.	
Veritas.	
Iusticia.	
pax.	
Nemesis.	the goddess of redresse and correction. A goddesse.

## THE PROLOGUE.

First, helth and successe, with many a goode newe yeare,  
Wissched<sup>1</sup> vnto all this noble presence heare.

Prologue be-  
seecheth the  
indulgence of  
the hearers,

I have more tentreate youe of gentle sufferaunce

4

That this our matier may have quyet utteraunce.

we, that are thactours, have ourselves dedicate  
with some Christmas devise your spirites to recreate;

And our poete trusteth, the thinge we shall recyte  
maye withoute offence the hearers myndes delyte.

8

In dede, no man speaketh wordes so well fore pondred,  
But the same by some meanes maye be misconstrued.

Nor nothinge so well ment, but that by somme pretence  
ytt maie be wronge interpreted from the auctors sence.

12

But let this be taken no wурse then yt ys mente,  
And I hope nor we nor owre poete shalbe shente.

But nowe of thargumente to towch a worde or twayne :  
the Name of our playe ys Respublica certaine ;  
oure meaninge ys (I saie not, as by plaine storye,  
but as yt were in figure by an allegorye)

16

and de-  
scribeth the  
Play.<sup>1</sup> MS. wissed.

What afflicteth a State.	To shewe that all commen weales Ruin <i>and</i> decaye from tyme to tyme hath been, ys, and shalbe alwaie,	20
[leaf 360, bk.]	whan Insolence, Flaterie, Opression, and Avarice have the Rewle in their possession. But though these vices by cloked collusyon And by counterfaict Names, hidden theire abusion, Do Reigne for a while to comon weales preiudice, pervertinge all right and all ordre of true Iustice, yet tyme trieth all and tyme bringeth truth to lyght, that wronge may not ever still reigne in place of right.	24
Yet Time vengeth,	for whan pleaseth God suche comon weales to restore To theire welthe <i>and</i> honoure wherin thei were afore, he sendeth downe <sup>1</sup> his mooste tender Compassion to cause truth goe abowte in visitation.	28
and sendeth down Truth and Pity.	veritee, the daughter of sage old Father Tyme, Shewith all as yt ys, bee yt vertue or Cryme. than dooeth Iustice all such as commonweale oppresse Tempered with mercye, endeavoure to suppresse. with whome anone is lynked tranquillitee and peace / to Common weales Ioye and perpetuall encrease. /	32
Boys shall justify men.	But shall boyes (saith some nowe) of suche high mattiers plaine No, not as disscussers, but yet the booke doth saie <b>Ex ore infantium perferisti Laudem.</b> / for whan Criste came rydinge into Hierusalem, The yong babes with tholde folke cryde owte all <i>and</i> some, blessed bee the Man that in the Lordes name dothe come.	36
And Queen Mary shall amend the Common-wealth.	Soo for goode Englande sake this presente howre <i>and</i> daie, In hope of hir restoring from hir late decaye, We children, to youe olde folke, bothe <i>with</i> harte <i>and</i> voyce Maie Ioyne all togither to thanke god <i>and</i> Reioyce	40
	That he hath sent Marye our Soveraigne <i>and</i> Quene to reforme thabuses which hitherto hath been. And that yls whiche long tyme have reigned vncorrecte shall nowe foreuer bee redressed <i>with</i> effecte.	44
	She is oure most wise / <i>and</i> most worthie Nemesis, Of whome our plaine Meneth, tamende <i>that</i> is amysse ; Whiche to bring to passe, <i>that</i> she maye have tyme <i>and</i> space, Leat vs, booth yong <i>and</i> old, to Godde commend her grace.	48
	Nowe, yf yowe so please, I wyll goe <i>and</i> hither send, / That shall make youe laughe well, yf ye abide thend. /	52
	Finis /	56
	<sup>1</sup> Over the line in MS.	58

*Actus primi, scena prima.*

## AVARYCE.

Now, Goddygod, every chone bothe greate and smale, from highest to lowest, Goddiggod to yowe all ; / Goddigod, what sholde I saie ? even or morne if I marke howe the daie goeth, God geve me sorowe. But, Goddiggod, echone twentie and twentie skore of that ye most longe for, what wolde ye have more ? ye muste pardonne my wyttes / for I tell youe plaine, I have a hive of humble bees swarmyng in my braine, and he that hath the compace to fetch <i>that</i> I must fetche I maie saie in Counsaile, had nede his wyttes to stretche. But nowe, what my name is, <i>and</i> what is my purpose, Takinge youe all for frendes, I feare not to disclose. My veray trewe vnchristen Name ys Avarice, which I may not have openlye knownen in no wise ; For though to moste men I am found Commodius yet to those that vse me, my name is Odius. For who is so foolishe that the evell he hath wrought for his owen behouff he wolde to light sholde be brought ? or who had not rather, his ill doinges to hide, Thenne to have the same bruted on everye syde ? Therefore, to worke my feate, I will my name disguise, And call my Name ' polycie ' in stede of Covetise. The Name of ' policie ' ys praised of eche one, But, to rake grumble sede, Avaryce ys a Lone. The Name of ' policie ' is of none suspected : Polycye is ner of any cryme Detected. So that vnder the Name and cloke of policie, Avaryce maie wearke factes & scape all Ialousie. And nowe ys the tyme come that, except I be a beaste, een to make vp my mouth, and to feather my neste. A tyme that I have wayted for, a greate Longe space, and nowe maie I spedre my purpose, If I have grace. For heare ye, sirrha ! our greate graund Ladie Mother Noble Dame Respublica, she and none other, of the offalles, the refuse, the Ragges, the paringes, The baggage, the trashe, the fragmentes, the sharinges, The od endes, the Cr[u]mes, the dribletes, the chippinges,	<p>[leaf 361] Act I, sc. I.</p> <p>60      Avarice entereth complaining and busied,</p> <p>64</p> <p>68</p> <p>72      and dis- closeth him- self who he is.</p> <p>76</p> <p>80      And will be called Policy, the which is praised of men.</p> <p>84</p> <p>88      His time is come.</p> <p>92      He abuseth Respublica;</p>
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- The patches, the peces, the broklettes, the drippinges,                    96  
 The fliettance, the scrapinges, the wilde wai[u]es and straies,  
 The skimmynges, the gubbins of booties and praines,  
 [leaf 361, bk.] The glenynges, the casualties, the blynde excheates,                    100  
 The forginge of forfaycte, the scape of extracites,  
 Thexcesse, the waste, the spoils, the superfluités,  
 The windefalles, the shriddinges, the flycinges / *the petie fees,*  
*with a Thowsaunde things mo which she maye righte well*  
*lacke— /*  
*woulde fyll all these same purses that hang att my bakke / 104*  
*yea, and tenne tymes as manye moo bagges as these*  
*which shoulde be but a flea bytinge for hir to lese.*  
 That if I maie have the grace & happe to blynde her,  
 I doubtē not a shewete Ladye I shall fynde hir.                    108  
*to hir ytt wer nothing, yet manye a smale makith a greate,*  
*And all thinges wolde helpe me what ever I maye geate.*  
*ful lytle knowe men the greate nede that I am yn.*  
 Doo not I spende dailie of that that I do wynne?                    112  
*then age cometh on, and what ys a lytle golde*  
*to kepe a man by drede<sup>1</sup> that ys feble and olde?*  
 No man therefore blame me / thoughē I wolde have more /  
*the worlde waxeth harde, & store (thei saie) is no sore. 116*  
 Nowe the chaunce of theves, in goode howre be ytt spoken ;  
*owte alas, I feare, I left my Cofer Open.*  
 I am surelye vndoone / alas where be my Cayes?  
 It ys gone *that I have swette for / all my lyve daies. 120*  
*Wo worthe all whoreson theves / & suche covetous knaves,*  
*that for theire wyndinge sheete wolde scrape men owt of*  
*theire graves !*                    [Exeat.]

Act I, sc. ii.

*Actus primi, scena secunda.*ADULACION, INSOLENCE, OPPRESSYON. / *Intrant Canta[n]tes.*

- Adulacion.* Oh noble Insolence, if I coulde singe as well,  
 I wolde looke in heāven emonge Angells to dwell.                    124  
*Insolence / Sing ! nowe doo I sing, but as other manye doe ?*  
*Adulacion / yes, an Angels voice ye have to herken vnto.*  
*Insolence. yea, but what availeth that to highe dignitiee ? 127*  
*Oppression. By his armes, not a whitte, as farre as I can see.*  
*Inso. Or what helpeth that thinge, to sett a man a lofte ?*

Is smitten  
with fear  
his coffer be  
unlocked.<sup>1</sup> v. Note.

*Oppression.* By his woundes, not a strawe / so have I tolde [leaf 362]  
yowe ofte.

*Adul.* No but ye are one of suche goodlye personage,  
of suche wytte & beawtye and of sage parentage, 132  
So excellente in all poyntes of everye arte,—

Adulation  
incitateth Inso-  
lence to rule.

*Inso.* In dede, god and nature in me have done their parte,—  
*Adul.* That yf ye will putte yourselfe forwarde to the mooste,  
ye maie throughowte the whole lande<sup>1</sup> rewle all the Roste. 136  
howe saie yowe, Oppression ? ys ytt not even so ?

*Oppr.* Thowe saiest soothe, Adulacion, so mowte I goe :  
if he wer disposed to take the charge in hande,  
I warraunte hym a chive to Rewle all the whole lande. 140

*Adul.* So, Maister Insolence, ye heare Oppression ?

*Inso.* I thanke bothe hime and thee, goode Adulacion.  
And Long have I dreamed of suche an enterpryse,  
But howe or where to begynne I cannot devise. 144

Oppression  
and Inso-  
lence, desir-  
ing, know no  
means.

*Oppression.* Wherfore serve frendes but your enterpryse to  
allowe ?

*Adul.* And than must youe supporte them, as thei muste  
mantayne youe.

*Opre.* And wherfore do frendes serve, but to sett youe yn ?

*Adul.* Ye shall have all my healpe / whan ever ye beginne. 148

*Inso.* But we maie herein, nothing attempte in no wyse,  
withowte the Counsaile of our fownder Avarye.

Avarice must  
be taken in  
counsel.

*Adul.* He muste directe all this geare by his holye gooste.

*Oppr.* For he knowith whatt ys to be done in eche cooste.  
he knoweth where & howe that Money is to be hadde, 153  
And yonder he cometh, me thinketh, more then half madde.

[*Inrat Avar.* /

### Actus primi, scena tertia.

Act I, sc. iii.

#### AVARICE, INSOLENCE, OPPRESSION, ADULACION.

*Avarice.* It was a faire grace that I was not undooen clene ;  
yet my kye was safe lockt vnder myne lockes, I wene, 156  
but een as against suche a thing my harte wyll throbbe,  
I fownde knaves abowte my howse, readye me to Robbe.  
Theare was suche tooting, suche looking & such priinge,  
such herkenyng / such stalking, suche watching, such spyinge.  
what wolde ye, my Maisters ? we looke after a catte. 161 [leaf 362, bk.]

Entereth  
Avarice, and  
complaineth  
of thieves.

<sup>1</sup> lande above the line.

*Beholdeth  
insolence and  
his compaers,  
and mistrust-  
eth them.*

*They desire  
to speak unto  
him, but he is  
distrayght.*

*Adulation  
winneth his  
ear,*

*but Avarice  
assalleth him  
with just  
words.*

[leaf 363]

*Avarice sus-  
pects them  
of theft,*

*and they  
protest their  
love.*

what make ye heareabowt? we have smelled a ratte.  
Nowe a wheale on suche noses, thought I, by and by,  
That so quicklie canne sente where hidden golde dothe lye. 164  
But had I not comme when I dyd, withowte all failles,  
I thinke theye had digged vp my walles with theire Nailes.

*Inso.* Let vs speake to hym and breake his chafing talke. 167

*Avar.* Suche gredinesse of Money emonge men dothe walke,  
That have yt they wyll, eyther by hooke or by crooke.

*Oppr.* lett vs call to hym that he maye this waye Looke.

*Avar.* whether by right or by wronge in feith some care not:  
Therefore catche that catche maye, hardely, & spare not. 172

*Adul.* All Haille our Fownder & chief, M<sup>r</sup>. Avarycce.

*Avar.* the Devyll ys a knave, an I catche not a flyce,

*Adul.* when ye see your tyme, looke this waie your frendes  
vppon.

*Avar.* I doubte not to skamble and rake as well as one. 176

*Adul.* heare bee that wolde faine bee desiples of your arte.

*Avar.* I wilnot be behinde to gette a childes parte.

*Adul.* Nowe if ye have done / I pray youe looke this waye  
backe. 179

*Avar.* Whoo buzzeth in myne eare so? what? ye sawecye Iacke?

*Adul.* Are ye yet At leysure with your goode frendes to talke?

*Avar.* what clawest thoue myne elbowe, pratlings merchaunte?  
walke!

ye flaterabundus yowe, youe flyering-clawbacke youe, 183  
youe the-Crowe-is-white youe, youe the-swanne-is-blacke youe,  
youe Iohn-Holde-my-stafe youe / youe what-is-the-clocke youe,  
youe ait-ao youe, youe negat nego yowe. /

*Adul.* I mervaille yowe speake to me in suche facion. 187

*Avar.* whi troublest thoue me then in my contemplacion?

*Adul.* I came of right goode love, not mynding youe to lett.

*Avar.* Thowe ner camest to anie Man of good love yett. 190

*Adul.* And these mennes myndes yt was I sholde soo dooe.

*Avar.* As false wretches as thyne owen selfe and falser tooe.

*Ins. et Oppr.* we have been loving to yowe & faithfull alwaye.

*Avarice.* For your owne profittes then, & not myne, I dare saie;  
And een, verai, youe three it was, & others none,  
that wolde have Robbed me not yet haulf an howre gone. 196

*Insol. & Oppr. Adulac.* we never robbed anye Manne later or  
rather.

*Avar.* Yes, manye a tyme *and* ofte your own veraie Father.

*Oppr.* And to yowe have we borne hartie favors alwaie.

*Avar.* And I warraunte youe hangd for your labours one daie. 200

*Oppr. Adul.* And as oure god, we have alwaie Honored youe.

*Avar.* And een as *your* god, I have aie succoured youe.

*Oppr.* Wee call yowe *our* fownder by all holye Halowes.

*Avar.* Founder me no foundring ; but beware the galowes. 204

*Inso.* I pracie youe leave thes wordes / & talk frendlie at laste.

*Avar.* Content at *your* request / my fume is now well paste, Avarice yieldeth,  
*And* in faith what saithe *our* frende Adulacion ?

*Adul.* I wonder at *youre* Roughe Communicacion, 208  
*that* ye wolde to me vse wordes of suche vehemence.

*Avar.* Feyth, manne, I speake but even to prove *your* pacyence,  
*that* yf thoue haddest grunted or stormed thereat, 211

*Adul.* Naie, fewe times doe I vse suche lowde manier as that.

*Avar.* Come, shake handes ; for euer we twoo be at one. and they are friends.

*Adul.* As for grutche in me, there shall neuuer remaine none.

*Avar.* Nowe, M<sup>r</sup>. Insolence, to *your* ghostlye purpose.

*Insol.* we accordyd a metier to youe to disclosse. 216

*Avar.* I vnderstande all youre agreemente & accorde,  
for I laid in *your* bosoms when ye spake the worde.

*And* I like well the advise of Oppression,

*And* eke of Flatterie for *your* progression. 220

*Inso.* If there were matier whereon to work, I care not.

*Avar.* ye shall have Matier enoughe, bee doinge, spare not.

*Inso.* What ? to come to honour and welthe for vs all three ?

*Avar.* Ah than, ye coulde be well content to leave owte me. 224

*Inso.* No, for I knowe ye can for *yourselfe* well provyde.

*Avar.* Yea, that I can, & for twentye hundredth besyde.

*Adul.* Oh, wolde Christe, goode fownder, ye wolde *that* thing open.

*Avar.* Bones, knave, wilt thoue have ytt / ere yt can be spoken ? 228

*Oppr.* for the passion of god, tell yt vs with all spedē.

*Avar.* By the crosse, not a worde / here is haste made in dede.

*Insole.* Yes, good Swete Avarice, despatch & tell att once.

*Avar.* Naie then, cutte my throte, ye are felowes for the Avarice feareth least he should  
nonce ; 232

disclose too  
soon,

but revealst  
Respublica  
how she is  
undone,

and they  
throng round  
in eager  
greed.

will ye have a matier before ytt canbe tolde ?  
If ye will have me tell ytt, ye shall *your tonges* holde.  
whiste, scilence ! not aworde / Mum, leatte *your clatter* sease.  
are ye with Childe to heare / and cannot holde *your peace*? -236  
So, sir, nowe, Respublica, the ladie of Estate,  
ye knowe nowe latelie is left almost desolate.  
Hir welthe ys decayed ; hir conforte cleane a goe ;  
& she att hir wittes endes what for to saie or doe. 240  
fayne wolde she have succoure & easemente of hir grieve,  
And highlye advaunce them that wolde promise relieve ;  
suche as wolde warraunte hir spirites to revive  
Mought mounte to highe eastate / & be most sure to thrive. 244

*Inso.* So.

*Adula.* well saide.

*Opp.* hah.

*Avar.* what is this hum, hah, hum ?

*Insol.* onn forth.

*Adul.* goe too.

*Op.* tell on.

*Avar.* boddye of me.

*Adul.* mum. /

*Avarice.*<sup>1</sup> what saie ye?

*Inso.* hake.

*Adul.* tuff.

*Op.* hem.

*Av.* who haken tuffa hum.

What saie ye ?

*Oppr.* Nothing.

*Inso.* Not aworde.

*Ava.* nor youe neither.

*Ad.* mum. / 248

*Avar.* Dyd ye speake or not ?

*Ins.* No.

*Opp.* no.

*Adul.* no.

*Ava.* nor yet doo not !

*Inso.* No.

*Opp.* No.

*Adul.* No.

<sup>1</sup> The scribe evidently had some difficulty at this point in copying.

<i>Inso.</i>	No.	
<i>Adul.</i>	no.	
<i>Avar.</i>	<i>that that that that that that.</i> <sup>1</sup>	
Sir, I entend Dame Respublica tassa[i]lle and so to crepe in to be of hir Counsaille ; I hope well to bring hir in such a paradise that hirselfe shall sue me to have my service Than shall I have tyme & poure to bringe in youe three.	252	Avarice will be of her Council and aid his friends.
<i>Oppression.</i> Do this owte of hande, founder, & first speake for me,	256	[leaf 364] Oppression craveth for advancement.
bring me in credyte that my hande be in the pye : An I gett not elbowe rowme emong them, let me lye.		
<i>Avar.</i> Naie, see an Oppression, this eager elfe bee not sens more covetous then covetous selfe. Softe, be not so hastie, I pracie youe, Sir, softe awhile, you will over the hedge ere ye commē att the stile.	260	Avarice re- proveth him.
<i>Oppr.</i> I wolde fayne be shouldering & rumboling emonge them.		
<i>Avar.</i> Naie, I will helpe Iavels as shall wrong them.	264	
<i>Adul.</i> I pracie youe, good foundre, let not me be the Laste.		
<i>Avar.</i> Thowē shalte be well placed where to thrive verai faste.		
<i>Adul.</i> I thanke youe, M <sup>r</sup> . Avarice, with all my harte.		Audulation prayeth Avarice, and shall be gratified.
<i>Avar.</i> And when thouē arte in place, see thowē pliae well thie parte ;	268	
Whan ye clawe hir elbowe, remembre your best frende, & lett my Commendacons be ever att one ende.		
<i>Adul.</i> I warraunte youe.		
<i>Insol.</i> And what shall <sup>2</sup> bee left cleane owte?		
<i>Avar.</i> No, syr, ye shall bee chiefe to bring all thinges abowte.	272	Insolence claimeth his share, and shall be chiefe,
ye shall emonge vs have the chiefe preeminence, And we to youe as yt were, oughe obedience. ye shalbe our leader, our Captaine, & our guyde, Than must ye looke a lofte with thandes under the side.	276	
I shall tell Respublica ye can beste governe : bee not ye than skeymishe to take in hand the stern. Then shall we assist youe as frendes of perfitte trusste, to doe & to vndoe and Commaunde what ye luste.	280	

<sup>1</sup> The MS. has *y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>t</sup>*. Should this not be read 'tut' in this line?

<sup>2</sup> Prof. Brandl inserts 'I' after 'shall'; the emendation is necessary.

but must  
divide the  
livinges.

And when youe have all att your owne will & pleasure,  
parte of your lyvings to your frendes ye maie measure  
and punishe the prowdeste of them that will resiste.

*Oppr.* He that ones wincheth shall fele the waite of my  
fiste. 284

*Adul.* Yea, we muste all holde & cleve togither like burres.

*Avar.* See ye three hang & drawe togither like furres.<sup>1</sup>

*Oppr.* And so shall we be sure to gett store of money  
Sweter then sugar,

*Avar.* Sweter then enie honey. 288

[leaf 364, bk.]

*Insol.* Verai well spoken, this geare will righte well accordre.

*Adul.* Did not I saie ye were worthie to be a lorde?

*Avar.* I will make Insolence a lorde of highe eastate.

Insolence  
shall become  
a Lord, but  
must share  
his landes.

*Insol.* And I will take vpon me well bothe earelye and  
late. 292

*Oppr.* But, Insolence, when ye come to the encrochinge of  
landes,

ye maie not take all alone into youre handes;

I will looke to have parte of goodes, landes & plate.

Adulation  
shall not lack.

*Insole.* Ye shall have enoughe, eche bodye after his rate. 296

*Adul.* I muste have parte too / ye muste not have all alone.

*Inso.* Thowe shalte bee laden, tyll thye shoulders shall cracke  
& grone.

*Adul.* I priae youe, lett me have a goode Lordship or twoo.

*Insol.* Respublica shall feede the[e] / tyll thowe wilt saie  
hoo. 300

*Adul.* And I muste have goode Mannour places twoo or three.

*Insole.* But the chiefe and beste Lordship muste remaine to  
me.

*Oppr.* Masse/ and I will looke to be served of the beste,  
orels somme folke, somme where, shall sytt but in smale reste. 304

*Insol.* I muste have castels & Townes in everye shiere ;

*Adul.* And I chaunge of howses one heare / & another there :

*Inso.* And I muste have pastures / & townships and woodes.

*Oppr.* And I muste nedes have store of golde & other  
goodes. 308

*Insolence.* And I must have chaunge of Farmes & pastures  
for shepe,

Insolence  
claimeth  
the chief  
title and  
towns and  
castles and  
pastures.

<sup>1</sup> The MS., in a different handwriting of later date, adds to this line 'of  
far finis.'

with dailie revenues my lustye porte for to kepe.

*Avar.* I wolde have a bone here, rather then a grote,  
to make these snarling curres gnawe owte eche others throte. 312  
here be eager whelpes, loe : to yt Boye / box him balle !  
poore I maie picke strawes / these hungri dogges will snatch all.

Avarice  
despaireth,  
seeing their  
greed,

*Oppr.* Eche man snatche for hymselfe ; by gosse, I wilbe  
spedde.

*Avar.* Lacke who lacke shall / Oppression wilbe corne fedde.  
Is not Dame Respublica sure of goode handlinge 317  
Whan theis whelpes, ere they have ytt / fall thus to skambling ?  
And me, their chiefe Fownder, / they have een syns forgotte.

*Insolence.* Thowe shalte have gold & silver enoughe to thy  
lotte. 320

[leaf 385]  
but Insolence  
consoleth  
him.

Respublica hath enoughe to fill all oure Lappes.

*Adul.* Than, I pracie youe, sir, leate oure fownder have somme  
scrappes.

*Avar.* Scr[a]ppes, ye doultishe lowte ! fede youe your fownder  
with scrappes ?

Yf youe were well served / youre head wolde have somme rappes.

*Adul.* I spake of goode will.

*Inso.* Naiie, fight not, good Avarice. 325

*Oppr.* What enie of vs getteth, thowe haste the chiefe price.

*Avar.* Than, what ever ye doe, ye will remembre me ?

*Insol.* *Oppr.* *Adul.* Yea.

*Avar.* Well, so doe than, & I forgeve youe all three. And Avarice  
quiesceth.

*Insol.* But when<sup>1</sup> do wee enter everye man his Charge ? 329

*Avar.* As soone as I can spye Respublica att large,  
I will bourde hir, and, I trowe, so wynne hir favoure  
That she shall hire me and paie well for my laboure :  
than wyll I commende the vertues of youe three  
that she shall pracie & wishe vnder our Rewle to bee.  
Therefore from this houre bee ye all in readinesse.

Avarice will  
persuade  
Respublica,  
and biddeth  
his comrades  
attend and  
obey him.

*Oppr.* Doubte not of vs ; thowe seest all oure gredinesse. 336

*Insol.* If ytt bee at midnight, I come att the firste call.

[they go foorthwarde, one after other.]

*Adul.* Doe but whistle for me, and I comme foorth with all.

*Avar.* That is well spoken. I love suche a towarde twygg.

[he whistleth.]

*Adul.* I comme, fownder.

<sup>1</sup> when above the line.

*Avar.* that is myne owne good spaignel Rigg, 340  
And comme on, backe againe, all three, come backe agayne.

*Insol.* Owre founder calleth vs backe.

*Oppr.* retourne then amaigne.

Act I, sc. iv.

*Actus primi, scena quarta.*

AVARYCE, ADULACION, INSOLENCE, OPPRESSION.

Avarice  
teacheth his  
comrades  
how their  
Names must  
be changed,

*Avar.* Comme on, syrs, all three. And first to youe, best be  
truste :

What is your brain-pan stufte with all? / wull or sawe duste? 344

*Adul.* Why so?

*Avar.* What is your Name?

*Adul.* Flatterie.

*Avar.* een so iust?

*Adul.* Yea, orelys Adulacion if youe so luste.

Either Name is well knowne to Mannye a bodye.

for Adula-  
tion, Inso-  
lence, and  
Oppression  
are hateful,  
even as  
Avarice.

*Avar.* An honest mome; ah, ye dolt, ye lowte, ye Nodye, 348

Shall Republica here your commendacon

by the Name of Flatterie or Adulacion?

or when ye Commende me to hir, will ye saie this,

Forsoothe his Name is Avarice or Covetise?

352

[leaf 365, bk.] And youe that sholde have wytte / yst youre Descretion

Bluntlye to goe forth, and be called Oppression?

and youe, Insolence, do ye thinke yt wolde well frame,

If ye were presented to hir vnder that name? 356

*Insol.* I thought nothing therewpon by my holydome.

*Oppr.* My mynde was an other waie by my christendome.

*Adul.* that thing was le[a]st parte of my thought, by Saincte  
Denie.

*Avar.* No, Marie, your myndes were all on your haulfe penie;  
but, my maisters, I must on myne honestie passe, 361

And not Roune on heade, like a brute beaste or an asse.

For is not Oppression eche where sore hated

and is not flaterie openly rahated?<sup>1</sup> 364

And am not I, Avarice, stylly cryed owte vppon?

*Adul.* Yes, I coulde have tolde you that, a greate while agone,  
but I woulde not displease you.

*Avar.* & youe, Insolence,

<sup>1</sup> Rabated.

I have harde youe ill spoken of a greate Waie hence. 368

*Adul.* In my consciens, the devill hymselfe<sup>1</sup> dothe love youe.

*Avar.* But chaunzgeyng your yll name, fewer shall reprove  
you.

as I, myne owensemself, where my name is knownen,

Am right sore assailed, to be overthrownen. 372

But, dooing, as I wyll nowe, countrefaicta my name,

I spede all my purposes / & yet escape blame.

*Inso.* Lett vs then have newe names, eche manne, withowte  
delaye;

*Avar.* Els will some of youe make good hanging stuff one  
daie. 376

*Oppr.* Thowe must newe christen vs.

*Insol /* first, what shall my name bee?

*Avar.* Faith, sir, your name shalbe Mounsyre Authoritie.

Insolence  
shall be  
y-clept Au-  
thority;  
Oppression,  
Reformation;  
and Adula-  
tion, Hon-  
esty.

*Oppr.* And for me what ys your Determinacyon?

*Avar.* Marye, syr, ye shalbe called Reformacyon. 380

*Adul.* Nowe, I pracie yowe, devise for me an honest name.

*Avar.* Thowe arte such a beaste, I cannot for veray shame.

*Adul.* If ye thinke good, lett me be called Policie.

*Avar.* Policie—a rope ye shall. Nay, Hipocrisie. 384

*Adul.* Fy, that were as slanderous a Name a[s] Flatterye.

*Avar.* And I kepe for myselfe the Name of Policie,  
But if I devise for thee, wilte thowe not shame me? 387

*Adul.* Naic, I will make the[e] prowde of me or els blame me.

[leaf 388]

*Avar.* Well than, for this tyme thy Name shalbe Honestie.

*Adul.* I thanke youe, Avaryce, Honestie, Honestie.

*Avar.* Avaryce, ye whooresone? Policye, I tell the[e].

*Adul.* I thanke youe, Polycye,—Honestie, Honestie. 392

Howe saie youe, Insolence? I am nowe Honestie.

But Adula-  
tion under-  
standeth not  
his name nor  
his comrades'  
names,  
and is ad-  
monished,

*Avar.* We shall att length have a knave of youe, Honestie;

Sayde not I he sholde be called Mounsier Authoritye?

*Adul.* Oh, frende Oppression, Honestie, Honestie / 396

*Avar.* Oppression? hah! is the devyll in thye brayne?

Take hede or in faithe ye are flatterye againe.

Policie, Reformacion, Authoritie.

*Adul.* Hipocrysie, Diffamacion, & Authorytie. 400

*Avar.* Hipocriye, hah! hipocrisie, ye dull asse?

*Adul.* Thowe Namedste Hipocrisie even Nowe, by the Masse.

<sup>1</sup> selfe above the line.

*Avaryee / Polycye, I saide, policye, knave, polycye.*

*Nowe saye as I sayd.*

*Adul.*                    *Policie, knave policie /*                    404

*Avar.* *And what callest thowe hym here ?*

*Adul.*                    *Dyffamacion.*

*Avar.* *I tolde the he shoulde be called Reformacion.*

*Adul.* *Veraye well.*

*Avar.*                    *What ys he nowe ?*

*Adul.*                    *Deformacon.<sup>1</sup>*

*Avarice.* *Was ever the like asse borne in all nacions ?*            408

*Adul.* *A pestell on hym, he comes of the Acyons.*

*Avar.* *Come on ; ye shall Learne to solfe : Reformacion,*

*Sing on nowe, Re.*

*Adul.*                    *Re*

*Avar.*                    *Refor.*

*Adul.*                    *Reformacon.*

*Avar.* *Policie, Reformacion, Authorytie.*                    412

*Adulacion.* *Polyacie, Reformacion and Honestie.*

*Avar.* *In faithe, ye asse, yf your tong make enie moo trips,  
ye shall bothe be flatterie and have on the lips.*

*And Now, Mounsyre Authoritie, againste, I youe call ;*            416  
*ye muste have other garmentes, and soo muste ye all :*  
*ye muste for the season counterfaite gravitee.*

*Ins. et Oppr.* *Yes, what els ?*

*Adul.*                    *And I muste counterfaite honestie.*

*Avar.* *And I muste tourne my gowne in & owte, I wene,*            420  
*for theise gaping purses maie in no wyse be seen.*

*I will tourne ytt een here ; come helpe me, honestye.*

*Adul.* *here at hande.*

*Avar.*                    *why, how now ! plaie the knave, honestie !  
helpe, what dooest thowe nowe ?*

*Adul.*                    *I counterfaite honestie.*                    424

*Avar.* *Why than, come thowe ; helpe me, my frende Oppres-*  
*sion.*

*what helpe calle youe that ?*

*Oppr.*                    *fyt for your discretion.*

*Avar.* *Oh, I shoulde have sayde, helpe, sir Reformacyon.*

*Oppr.* *Yea, Marye, sir, that is my Nomynacion.*                    428

*Avar.* *And whan yowe are [in] your Robe, keape yt afore close.*

*<sup>1</sup> There are only three rhymes, and a space for one line is left. A line  
is probably lost.*

and calleth  
Reformation  
Diffamation  
or Deforma-  
tion.

Avarice must  
turn his gown  
in, and be-  
seacheth  
help.

[leaf 366, bk.]

Adulation,  
turned  
Honesty, is  
loth.  
Avarice for-  
getteth the  
new names.

Oppression  
must cloak  
himself.

*Oppr.* I pracie youe, maister Policie, for what purpose?

*Avar.* All folke wyll take yowe, if theye piepe vnder youre gowne,

for the veriest catif in Countrey or towne.

Now goe, & when I call, see that ye readie be.

*Inso.* I will.

*Oppr.* And I wyll.

*Adul.* And so will I, Honestie.

Avarice biddeth them go and be ready.

432

*[exeant.]*

*Avar.* Well nowe, Will I departe hens also for a space,

And to bourde Republica, waite a tyme of grace.

Wherever I fynde hir a tyme convenient.

I shall saie and dooe that maie bee expedient.

Avarice biddeth his time to beguile Republica.

436

*[exeat Avar.]*

### *Actus secundi, scena prima.*

Act II, sc. i.

#### RESPUBLICA.

*Respublica.* Lorde, what yearethlye thinge is permanent or stable,

or what is all this worlde, but a lumpe Mutable?

440

Respublica bewaileth the weal of states how it is mutable.

Who woulde have thought that I, from so florent estate,

coulde have been brought so base, as I am made of Late?

But as the waving seas doe flowe & ebbe by course,

So all thinges else do chaunge to better and to wурse.

444

Greate Cyties, & their fame, in tyme dooe fade and passe;

Nowe is a Champion fielde, where Noble Troie was.

Where is the greate Empire of the Medes & Persans?

Where bee tholde conquestes of the puissant Grecians?

448

Where Babilon? where Athennes? where Corinth so wyde?

are thei not consumed, with all their pompe & pryd?

what is the cause heareof, mannes wytte cannot discusse,

but of Long contynnuance the thinge is founde thus.

452

Yet by all experiance, thus muche is well seen,

That in Comon weales while goode governors have been,

All thing hath prospered; and where suche men dooe lacke,

Comonweales decaye and all thinges do goe backe.

She knoweth not wherefore; but good governanc bringeth welfare.

456

what marvaile then yf I, wanting a perfecte staigh

From mooste flourishing welth bee falen in decaye?

But, lyke as by default, quike ruine dothe befalle,

So maie good governementes att ons recover all.

460

But she bath no stay.

*[Intrat Avar. cogitabundus et ludibundus.]*

Act II, sc. ii.

*Actus secundi, scena Secunda.*

## AVARICIA, RESPUBLICA.

[leaf 367]  
 Entereth  
 Avarice, but,  
 seeing not  
 Republica,  
 lamenteth  
 himself how  
 he is poor.  
 And Res-  
 publica  
 hopeth for  
 God's help.

Yet Avarice  
 shall glut his  
 purses,

and per-  
 ceiveth Res-  
 publica where  
 she is.

He must play  
 his part,

and cometh  
 forward as  
 Policy,

will ease Res-  
 publica,  
 albeit good  
 policy have  
 been set back.

*Avar.* Alas, my swete bages, howe lanke and emptye ye bee,  
 but in faithe and trawth,<sup>1</sup> sirs, the fawlte ys not in mee.

*Respubl.* Well, my helpe and Comforde, oh Lorde, must  
 come from thee. 463

*Avar.* And my swete purses heare, I pracie youe all, see, see,  
 how the litle foole[s] gaspe & gape for grumble-sede.

*Resp.* Iff ytt be thie will, lorde, send somme redresse with  
 spede.

*Avar.* But in faithe, goode swete fooles, yt shall cost me a fall,  
 but I will shortelye fyll you, & stoppe your Mouthes all. 468

*Resp.* Oh, that ytt were my happe, on frendelye frendes to  
 light.

*Avar.* Hahe! who is that same *that speaketh yonder in sight?*  
 Who ist? Republica? yea, by the Marye Masse.

*Respub.* Than might I bee againe as well as ere I was. 472

*Avar.* Hide vp these pipes. Nowe, I pracie god she bee  
 blynde:

I am haulf afraide leste she have an yei behynde.  
 we must nowe chaunnge our Coppie: oh, lorde, whowe I fraie  
 lest she sawe my toyes & harde whatt I dyd saie. 476

*Respub.* Is there no goode Manne that on me wyll have  
 mercye?

*Avar.* Remembre nowe my name ys Maister Policie:  
 all thing I tell yowe muste nowe goe by policie.

*Resp.* Herke; methinke I heare the name of polycye. 480

*Avar.* Hooe calleth Conscience? heare am I, Polycia.

*Resp.* I pracie youe: come to me if youe be Policie.

*Avar.* Yea, forsouth, yea forsouthe, my Name ys Polycye.

*Resp.* I am sore Decaied throughle defalte of polycye. 484

*Avar.* Yea, moost Noble Republica, I knowe that well  
 And doe more lament yt than enie tong can tell.  
 For, an if goode policie had had youe in hande,  
 ye had nowe been the wealthiest in anye lande: 488  
 but good policie hath long been putte to exile.

*Resp.* Yea, God wotte ye have been bard from me a greate  
 whyle.

<sup>1</sup> ?read trawth.

*Avar.* Yea, I have been putte backe as one cleane of-shaken,  
And what can a man do, tyll he be forthe taken? 492

*Resp.* well, I fele the lacke of your helping hande, by the  
Roode.

*Avar.* Alacke, noble ladye, I woulde I coulde doo youe  
goode.

*Respub.* yes, policie; ye might amende all if youe luste. [leaf 387, bk.]

*Avar.* yea, feithe; I durste put miselife to youe of truste, 496  
but there bee enoughe that for youe coulde shifte make.

*Respublica.* Yet none like to yowe: if yowe woulde yt vnder-  
take,

Respublica  
praiseth him,  
and entreat-  
eth of his aid.

& I will putt miselife whollye into your handes,

Metall, graine, cataill, treasure, goodes & landes. 500

*Avar.* Well, I will take some paine; but this to youe be  
knownen,

Avarice con-  
senteth, but  
forgetteth his  
part.

I will doe ytt, not for your sake, but for myne own.

*Respub.* Howe saie ye that, policie?

*Avar.* this to yowe bee knownen, and amendeth  
I will doe all for your sake and not for myne owen. 504 his words.

*Resp.* I thanke youe, policie.

*Avar.* Naie, I thanke youe, Ladye,  
And I trust ere long to ease all oure Maladie.  
will ye putte yourselfe nowe wholye into my handes?

*Resp.* ordre me as youe wyll.

*Avar.* Treasure, goodes & landes? 508

Respublica'  
will entrust  
Avarice with  
all her  
substance.

*Resp.* yea, everye whitte.

*Avar.* well, I thanke youe ons againe,  
But nowe that youe maie thinke / my dealing trewe & plaine,  
And because one cannot doe so well as Mannye,  
Yea<sup>l</sup> muste associate me with mo compaignie: 512  
And, first, by my will, ye shall sette vp honestie.

Avarice must  
bring in his  
companions,  
and first  
Adulation,

*Resp.* Marye, with all my veraie harte: but where is he?

*Avar.* Veray hard to fynde: but I thinke I coulde fetche<sup>2</sup>  
hym.

*Resp.* Call him straight waies hither, see that nothing lett  
him. 516

*Avar.* It were best if I shall goe fett men for the nones,  
to make but one viage & bring them all att ones.

*Resp.* whome more then hym?

<sup>1</sup> read ye.

<sup>2</sup> read fett.

- and Inso-  
lence,  
*Avar.* ye muste stablishe Authoritie.  
*Resp.* That muſte needs be doen.
- and Oppres-  
sion,  
who will rule  
of another  
fashion.  
*Avar.*<sup>1</sup> And eke Reformacion. 520  
wee fowre will rewle thinges of another facion.  
*Resp.* Polycye, I praiſe youe goe fette all these straight waye.  
*Avar.* Yes, for this your present case maie byde no delaye.  
I will goe & come wyth all Festinacon. 524  
[exeat.]
- Respublica  
beliketh that  
Honesty  
should be  
advanced  
and Reſor-  
mation for-  
warded of  
Authority,  
*Resp.* I like well this trade of Administracon ;  
Policie for to devise for my Comoditee,  
No persone to be advaunced but Honestye :  
then Reformacion, good holsome lawes to make, 528  
And Auctortie see the same effecte maie take.  
what comon weal shall then be so happie as I ?  
For this (I perceive) is the drift of policie.  
[Inrat Avaricia adducens Insol. Oppr. et adulac.]
- and praiseth  
the diligence  
of Avarice.  
And behold where he is returned againe seenſ : 532  
he Shewith himſelfe a man of diligence.

Act II, sc. iii.

*Actus secundi, scena tertia /*

## ADULACION, AVARYCE, RESPUBLICA, INSOLENCE / OPPRESSION /

- Adulation  
protesteth his  
willingness  
and is re-  
proved.  
*Adul.* I will doe hir double servis to another !  
*Avar.* ye double knave youe, will ye never be other ?  
*Adula.* she shall have triple service of me, Honestye. 536  
*Avar.* Ye quadrible knave, we<sup>2</sup> ye ner vſe modestie !  
Thowe dronken whoresone—doest thowe not ſee nor perceiue  
where Respublica standes readie vs to receyve ?  
*Respub.* what talke have theye yonder emong them ſelves  
together ? 540  
*Adul.* I have ſpied hir nowe. Shall I first to hir thither ?  
*Avar.* Softe ; lett me present yowe.  
*Resp.* I weene thei be in feare :  
Polycye, approche & bring my goode frendes nere.  
*Avar.* Come on, my deare frendes & execute with good wyll  
ſuche offyce as eche of youe ſhall be putt vnyll. 545  
Dame Respublica yt ys that for youe hath the ſent ;  
Come on, Frendes ; I will youe vnto her grace present.
- Respublica  
callēth them  
unto her.

<sup>1</sup> above the line.<sup>2</sup> read wi', i.e. will.

*Inso. Oppr.* To serve hir, we are preast with harte & whole entent. They approach. 548

*Avar.* Madame, I have brought youe these men for whom I went.

*Respub.* Policie, I thanke youe / ye have made spiede spede ; therefore ye be double welcome / & welcome frendes in dede.

*Avar.* Madame, your grace to serve we all are fullye bente.

*Adul.* And, Madame, ye shall fynde me double diligente. 553 Adulation urgeth himself.

*Resp.* That is spoken of a goode harte : but who bee ye?

*Adula.* Forsouth, madame, my Name ys Maister Honestie.

*Resp.* Honestye ? well saide.

*Avar.* Madame, this is honestie. 556

*Adula.* yea, forsouth, an please your grace, I am honestee.

*Avar.* Madame, he is for youe : on my woord<sup>1</sup> regarde hym.

*Resp.* yes & with large preferment I will rewarde hym.

*Adul.* I thanke your grace. And I will for youe take such paine but betrayeth his nature what it is, 560

that, ere I deserve one, / ye shall geve me twayne.

*Avar.* Honestie, your tong tripth.

*Resp.* howe saide ye, take such paine ?

*Adul.* That ere ye geve me one, I will deserve twaine.

By your lycence, Madame, to take awaie this mote.— 564 and eateth his words.

*Avar.* Naie, Honestie will not see a wemme on your Cote.

Nowe vnto yowe I commende Reformacon.

*Resp.* Of hym is no small nede<sup>2</sup> nowe in this Nacion.

*Oppr.* well, Nowe that ye bydde me Abuses to redresse, I doubt not all enormitis so to represse, 569

As shall redowne to your wealth and honour att length.

[leaf 368, bk.]

*Respub.* Thereto shall Authoritee ayde youe with his strength.

*Avar.* yea, for Authoritee to governe ys mooste fytte.

*Insole.* Yf ye, Dame Republica, doe me so admytte, 573

I doubt not to hamper the prudeste of them all.

*Resp.* And emong youe destroye Avarice.

*Adul.* hem.

*Insol. et Oppr.* we shall

*Resp.* vanquishe Oppression and Adulacion,

For those three have nighe wrought my desolacion.

*Avar.* hem, sirs, hem there, kepe your gownes close afore,  
I saie ;

<sup>1</sup> r above the line.

<sup>2</sup> nede above the line.

have ye forgotten nowe what I tolde youe one daye ?

There is another, too / that wolde bee chaced hens. 580

*Respubl.* who is that ?

to whom  
Avarice  
addeth Insol-  
ence.

*Avar.* Lucifer's sonne, called Insolence.

*Resp.* Ye saie truth, and manye Naughtie ones moo then he.

*Insol. et Oppr.* If ye dare truste vs.

*Insol.* all.

*Oppr.* all shall reformed bee. 583

Respublica  
giveth them  
her maintenaunce,

*Resp.* I thanke youe / & I truste youe for my Maintenaunce

To(o) bee administer[d] for your goode governaunce. /

*Insol.* Than withowte feare or care ye maie youreselfe repose.

*Oppr.* And lett vs alone with all suche mattiers &<sup>1</sup> those. 587

*Resp.* Than I leave yowe heare, on our Affaires to consoulte.

[*exit Resp.*

and leaveth  
them to  
consult.

*Insol.* Whan youe please, in Godes Name.

*Oppr.* we muste bothe sifte & boulte.

*Adul.* She is gonне.

Each shall go  
about his  
business.

*Avar.* well then, sirs, lett vs make no delaye  
But abowte our Markett departe, eche manne his waye. 591

Adulation  
would sing a  
song; Avarice  
hath  
no time,

*Adul.* Naie, first lett vs sing a song to lighten our hartes.

*Avar.* Than are ye like, for me, / to sing but of three partes.

but yieldeth.

Canne Avarice harte bee sett on a merie pynne

And see no gaine, no profitte att all coming in ?

*Insol.* We shall have enoughe to drive awaie all sorowe. 596

*Avar.* Than sing wee 'on bowne viage,' and 'Saincte George  
the borowe.'

They sing.

[*Cantent, 'Bring ye to me & I to ye,' etc., et sic exeat.*

Act III, sc. i.

### *Actus tercia, scena prima.*

RESPUBLICA. /

Respubica  
rejoiceth in  
the good  
hope, and  
under-  
standeth why  
men do not  
despair.

[leaf 369]

*Respub.* The goode hope that my mysters have putt me in  
to recover rewine that in me dothe beginne,  
hathe so recomforted my spirites & myne harte 600  
that I feale muche easemente of my greate greefe & smarte.

Nowe I doe lesse woonder that lost men, life to save,  
Ferre from lande dooe Laboure againste the roring wave.  
for hope, I see, hathe mightie Operacion  
Againstste the Mortall sting of drouping desperation. 604

<sup>1</sup> read as.

Nowe if I might but heare what policie hathe wrought,      607  
 or some one goode thing *that* my frendes to pass had brought,  
 I woulde putte no doubtes but all thing shoulde soone bee well.  
 Loe where Cometh Honestie : he wyll the truthe tell.

Yet mis-  
 doubteth,  
 wotting not  
 what Policy  
 hathe  
 wrought,  
 and seeth  
 Adulation,

*Actus tertij, scena secunda.*

Act III, sc. ii.

ADULACYON, RESPUBLICA.

*Adul.* Three Hundred pounde by yeare and a goode manour      who entereth  
 place— exulting in  
 his gains,

well, yt ys metely well in so shorte tyme and space.      612  
 More will come right shortelye ; this yeare dothe gailie walke.  
 Bones, heare is Respublica, what vse I suche ta[1]ke ?  
 I seeke ladie Respublica.

and recalleth  
 himself.

*Resp.*                    Loe, I am here,  
 And welcome, Honestie. what doe my frendes mooste deare? 616  
*Adul.* Certes, Madame, we reste nor daie nor night nor howre,  
 [To]<sup>1</sup> practise and travaile for your welth and honoure.      They rest not  
 day nor  
 night.

But / O / lorde, what a prudente man ys Policie,  
 what a depe heade he hathe to devise & to spie !      620  
*He laudeth  
 his comrades,*

*Resp.* he is fyne in dede.

*Adul.*                    Also Reformacion.  
 howe earenest he is in his Opperacyon.

*Resp.* I thinke of hym no lesse. /

*Adul.*                    Nowe than, Authoritee,  
 The stowtest in his offyce that ever I dyd see.      624  
 I will no farther prayse them, Madame, / for doubtlesse  
 theye ferre sormounte all praise *that* my tong can expresse.  
 yee maie blesse the tyme ye mette with suche as thei bee,  
 And I doe my poore parte. /

*Resp.*                    I doubte not, Honestee,      628  
 And condinge Rewarde shall ye all have for your paine.

*Adul.* I have scarce an howse wherin myselfe to mayntayne.

*Respub.* HONESTIE shall not lacke.

*Adul.*                    I doe not crave nor care.  
 we shall take but scraps & refuse, that ye maie spare.      632  
 but com-  
 plaineth of  
 poverty and  
 is reassured,  
 and affected  
 indifference  
 and self-  
 sacrifice.

we will not encroche the peoples Comoditee ;  
 we shall take onelie that maie come with honestie.

<sup>1</sup> From this point a worm has eaten right through the MS. Restorations are placed within square brackets.

*Respub.* Christes blessing have ye; but loe, yonder cometh  
People.

People enters  
and Adulation  
is distressed.

*Adul.* I had thought as soone to have mette here Paules  
steeple. 636

Act III, sc. iii.

*Actus tertij, scena tertia.*

PEOPLE, ADULACION, RESPUBLICA.

*People.* Whares Rice-puddingcake? I praiie God she bee in  
heale.

People asketh  
for Respub-  
lica.  
Adulation  
understand-  
eth not,

*Adul.* Who? Rice-puddingcake?  
*peopl.* Yea, alise dicts comonweale.

*Adul.* I knowe hir not.

*peopl.* masse, youe liest valeslye in your harte.

[leaf 369, blk.] She is this waie. che wart, a false harlot youe arte. 640

*Adul.* I knowe Respublica.

*peopl.* yea, Marie, whare is shee?

*Adul.* She is buisie nowe./

*peopl.* Masse, ere iche goe, chill hir zee,  
for this waie she came.

*Respub.* lett my people come to mee.

*Adulac.* God forbydde els. Come on, People, is this same  
shee? 644

*People.* yea, malkin ist.

Respubica  
welcometh  
People.

*Resp.* People, what wolde with me nowe?

*Peopl.* Marye, mustres, madame, my ladie, howe doe youe?

*Respub.* Even so so, people. I thanke youe withall my  
Harte:

And I hope for better.

People com-  
plaineth he is  
more afflicted  
than ever  
before,

*Peopl.* Than lett poore volke ha zome parte, 648  
vor we Ignoram people, whom itche doe perzente,  
wer ner zo I-polde, zo wrong, and zo I-tortment.

Lorde Ihese Christe whan he was I-pounst & I-pilate,  
was ner zo I-trounst as we have been of yeares Late. 652

but knoweth  
not how,

*Adul.* how so? who hathe wrought to youe such extremytee?

*peopl.* Naie, to tell how zo, passeth our Captvytee.

but trusteth  
Respubica  
that she  
loveth him.

*Respub.* It passeth anie mans Imaginacion.

*people.* youe zai zouth; yt passeth anie mans madge mason;  
vor we þynke ye love vs as well as ere ye dyd. 657

*Respub.* My love towardes youe, my people, cannot be hydde.

*people.* And we þinke ye woulde we zelie poore volke did well.

*Respub.* And better then ere ye dyd / if howe, I coulde tell.  
*people.* And we þinke ye woulde we zelie poore volke sholde  
 thrive. 661

*Respub.* Yea, doubtles as anye lyke creature alive.

*Adul.* What nede ye of hir goode will towardez yowe to  
 doubt? Adulation interrupteth.

*people.* peace, thou with zorowe, and let me tell my tall owte. People will speak.

*Respub.* Saie on, my good people / let me heare your mynde.

*people.* Bum vei, we ignoram people, beeth not zo blinde 666  
 but we passeive, ther falleth of corne & cattall,  
 wull, shepe, / woode, leade, tynne, Iron, & other metall, 668  
 and of all pinges, enoughe vor goode and badde,  
 and as commediens vor vs, as er, we hadde,

and yet the price of everye thing is zo dere,  
 as though the grunde dyd bring vorth no suche no where. 672

*Respub.* Indede, I have enoughe if yt be well ordered ;  
 but fewe folke the better, yf I bee misordered.

*People.* Nai, now youe zai zouth / een pieke same waie goeth  
 the hare ;

Ill ordring tis, hath made bothe youe and wee threde bare. 676

*Adulacion.* what naughtie folkes were thei / can yowe their  
 names reade ?

*People.* Yea, that I scan, a whole messe of om for a neade.

There is vorste and vormooste Flatterie, ill a þee,

A slypper, suger-mowthed howrecop as can bee ; 680  
 he fiereth on youe / & beareth vs faire in hande  
 And therewhile robbeth bothe youe & we of our Lande.  
 Than cometh the sowre roughe crabbed childe Oppression :  
 he tumbleth whom a lust, owte of possession.

Than ys there the thirde, I scannot membre his Name.

what call ye pieke same felowes,—God geve them a shame,—  
 that beeth styll clymbing vp a lofte for promydence  
 And cannot be content with theire state ?

*Adul.* Insolence. 688

*people.* yea, þicke same is he, ‘zorylesse.’

*Reep.* Naie, Insolence.

*people.* well, hele roile all the roste alone, cha harde yt zaide,  
 orels make the best of them agaste & afraide.

And zuche goode men as coulde & woulde ordre youe well, 692  
 he is so copped, he nil not suffre to mell.

People  
 grieveth  
 that all  
 commodities  
 lessen, and  
 prices rise.

People  
 grieveth  
 that all  
 commodities  
 lessen, and  
 prices rise.

Respubica  
 hath enough,  
 if she be well  
 ordered.

[leaf 370]  
 People sayeth  
 who oppress  
 him : Flattery  
 who relieveth  
 them of their  
 land, Oppres-  
 sion, who  
 taketh away  
 their own,  
 and a third  
 whose name  
 he forgetteth.

Adulation  
 telleth him,  
 Insolence.

Insolence  
 suffereth not  
 the good to  
 rule.

If theye wylnot be rolde, then hence oute<sup>1</sup> of favoure  
[Yea and per]haps corrupte om zore vor their Laboure.

yet he and thother twaine wearke all after the vice 696

*People complaineth of  
Avarice, how  
he teacheth  
his compere.*

of cha-forget<sup>2</sup>-tone-name ; tother is Covetise ;  
pieke hongri howrecop hath suche a policate wytte,<sup>3</sup>  
That he teacheth them to rake and scrape vp eche whytt.  
And zo these vowre (but it shall never come owte for me) 700

volke thinke will never cease to spoile bothe youe & me.  
vor sometime thei face vs / and call vs peason knaves  
And zwareth, ‘ Goddes bones, thei will make vs all slaves.’  
Tharevore chwas besiraunce your ladidom to zee 704  
and to geve youe warning.

*They abuse  
People, who  
addresseth  
himself to  
Respublica.*

*Respublica  
turneth to  
Adulation,*

*and is assured  
all shall be  
well.*

*People dis-  
trusteth fair  
words,*

*and mis-  
doubteth  
Honesty if  
this be he.*

[leaf 371, bk.]

*Respublica  
describeth  
her govern-  
ance.*

*People will  
be patient if  
the promise  
be sooth.*

*Resp.* heare ye this, Honestye ?  
*people.* well and God emend all, an<sup>4</sup> abee zo good a clerke—

*Resp.* heare ye this, Honestie ? /  
*people./* though tynkers sholde lacke worke.

*Resp.* I am putte in conforte all shall shortelye emende : 708  
*Adul.* itt ys in goode waie alreadye / els Godde defende.

*Respub.* Loe, People, hearest thowe this ? be of good cheare.  
*peop.* yea, iche heare his vaire wordes : but what beeth we the  
neare ?

*Respub.* People, vnderstande ye that this ys Honestee. 712  
*peopl.* whare a bee, trowe ? masse, cha zeen zome as zmothe as  
hee,

have be a trial, bee vound valse flatterers to bee.

*Respub.* I take this man for no suche : this ys Honestee. 715  
*people.* A gaye smoult smirking howrecop tis, zo mot I jee.

*Respub.* well, credite my wordes, people / this ys Honestee—  
*People.* whan Is fynde ytt, chil beleve yt.

*Resp.* tys Honestie.

*people.* Iscrye hym mercye than.

*Resp.* he and Authorytee

Ioignyng with Policie & Reformacyon

72

Travaile to restore tholde welth to this nacion.

*people.* Whoughe, than ; chil warte all within twoo years =  
plentye

as twas eny tyme within these yeres twyse twentye.

but how maye we knowe & see that this thyng ys trewe ? 7

<sup>1</sup> oute above the line.      <sup>2</sup> MS. of cha for yet.

<sup>3</sup> At the side : the scribe had missed out one line.      <sup>4</sup> MS. and.

*Adulacion.* Ye shall prove att length by theffecte that shall ensue.

Adulation  
assevereth  
that good  
shall be,

*peop.* Nai, and we shall alwaies bee served but with shales ; than chil beleve een still / *that* vaine woordes beeth but tales.

*Adul.* The thing alreadie to suche forwardnes ys brought, 728 That muche to *your* benefytte ys alreadie wrought.

*peop.* Yea ? What any goode acte have ye alreadye doone ?

*Adul.* It ys but yong daies yet ; thinges are but nowe begone : the frewe of *our* dooinges cannot so soone appeare. 732 but, people, ye shall feele ytt within seven yeare.

and asketh  
for time:  
in seven years  
he shall  
succeed.

*Ye* knowe it is no small wearke from so greate decaie.

*Respub.* People, he saith truthe.

Respublica  
confirmeth  
him.

*Adul.* to sett all in good staighe. therefore bee ye quiet, and hope for a goode ende. 736

*people.* Yes, chil tarie laisure / & take what God shall send.

People and  
Respublica  
will wait  
together.

*Respub.* Than, people, let vs twaine / departe in quietnesse, For this talking here/maye hinder theire buisinesse.)

*peopl.* Come on : I chil waite avor youe, and bee } [exeant. 740  
your manne.

*Adul.* And I will to my fealows as faste as I canne.

Adulation is  
alone, and  
sweareth to  
avenge this  
troubling,

Bee thei gone ? fare well theye / god sende them bothe the pippe ! but, in feith, people, I will have youe on the hyppe :

I wilbe even with youe for your brode carpynge. 744

Ah ! ye peasaunte wretche, on vs fowre to bee harping !

And yet muste we *our* Mattiers handle descretelye,  
orels, I feare, yt will ende not veraye swetelye.

but must  
consult with  
his comrades.

but nowe I wolde Avarice orels Insolence, 748

or Oppression were heare rather then six pence.

And Loe where Avarice comth, a woulff in the tale !

(as the proverbe saithe) what dothe he after hym hale ? 751

### *Actus tertij, scena quarta.*

Act iii, sc. iv.

#### AVARICE, ADULACION, OPPRESSION.

*Avar.* Come on, swete bags of golde / come on with a good will ; 752

Entereth  
Avarice,  
intent on his  
bags.

I on youe soo tendre ; & ye soo frowarde stylly ?

Come forewarde, I prae youe, swete bags : ah, will ye soo ?

Come, or I must drawe youe whether ye will or noo.

I knowe *your* desire ; ye woulde faine bee in my chest. 756

[leaf 371]  
They would  
fain be at  
rest, for they  
are full.

He seeth  
Adulation,  
and mistrust-  
eth him.

Adulation  
asketh how  
he hath got-  
ten them.

Avarice  
repleith.

Oppression  
entereth,  
whom they  
know not.

when the bealie is full, the bones woulde bee att reast.  
bee contente awhile; I will couche you all vp soone,  
where ye shalnot bee spied neither of Sonne nor Mone.

what nowe, brother Honestie? what prye ye this waie?  
is there eni thing here that ys yours, can ye saie?  
looke of from my baggs, yt ys a pretye Matier;  
ye can see no grene cheese / but your teethe wyll watier /

*Adul.* In nomine patris, hast thowe gotte all this syens?  
*Avar.* whi, thinkest thowe I have sett ydle sens I went hens?  
Naie, I have filled my lytle purses too, eche one.

*Adul.* hast thou so in dede? thowe arte a felowe alone.  
*Avar.* with olde Aungelots and Edwardes I thinke I have. 768  
Come forthe. how saie ye, sir? pepe out, ye little knave.  
howe thinke youe by this bunting? is he full or no?  
And his felowes all, dothe not theire skinne stretche for wo?  
Now their litell buttons, no bygger than twoo Nuttes, 772  
have theye not plained gluttons, & filled well theire guttes?

*Adul.* But looke, who cometh yonder puffing and tuffing?  
*Avar.* Come the devill, yf hym luste, staring and snuffing. 775

Act III, sc. v.

*Actus tertij, scena quinta.*

OPPRESSION, AVARICE, ADULACION.

Oppression  
is weary,

*Oppr.* In all my whole life was I never werier. 776

*Avar.* Come nere, on Goddes halfe, the mo knaves the merier.  
where have ye lost your breath? in some cofer dyvinge?

*Opp.* Shouldering emonge them for a peice of a lyvinge.

*Adulacion.* And what, are yowe nowe, in any goode hope to  
thryve? 780

he hath many  
bishoprics.

*Oppr.* Feithe, if I luste, I maie were myters fowre or fyve:

I have so manye haulfie bisshoprikes at the leaste.

"Honesty"  
hath not  
thriven the  
like.

*Adul.* by tharmes of Callis / than am I a verye beaste. 783

*Avar.* why, what hast thowe gotten to this share in this space?  
*Adul.* three hundred pound by the yeare and one manior  
place.

Avarice  
piteth him  
and upbraid-  
eth, as a  
foolish  
partner.

*Avar.* Ah, the passhen of God / three hundred pownd &  
no more?

*Adul.* Is not that faire for hym that had nothing before?

*Avar.* what, three hundred pound by years? call the[s]  
Honestee? 788

<sup>1</sup>Call thee a knave ! thowe shameſt our fraternitee.  
 three hundred pounde<sup>2</sup> if ſome man had been in thiſe rome,  
 A thowsaunde pounde a yeare / ere thiſ tyme might have come.  
 Three hunderd pounde a yeare<sup>2</sup> againſte our next metinge, 792  
 geate more/ or I ſhall geve a homly greetinge. /

*Adul.* he here haſthe flytched the biſhoprikeſ alreadie.

*Avar.* yea, I can him thanke, he haſthe been ſomewhatt ſpedie.

*Oppr.* But yet haue I lefte many a goode gobbet looce : 796  
 Chaunge thowe for<sup>2</sup> the reaſt / geve a fother for agooce.

*Adula.* Didſt thowe with anie one of them make ſuſhe  
 exchaunge?

*Oppr.* Yea, I almoſte leaſt them never a ferme nor graunge ;<sup>3</sup>  
 I tolde them Republiça at their wealth dyd grutche, 800  
 & the fyfte pennie thaye had, was for them to muche.

So Authoritee & I, did with theim ſoo choppe  
 that we lefte the best of them a thredebare biſhop :  
 to ſome we lefte one howſe, to ſome we left none, 804  
 The beſte had but his ſee place, that he miſt kepe home.  
 we enfourmed them / & we defourmed theym.  
 we confourmed them, & we refourmed theym.

*Adul.* And what gave ye them in your permutacons ? 808

*Oppr.* Bare parſonages of appropriacions  
 Bought from Republiça & firſte emprowed,  
 than, at the higheste extente to biſhops allowed,  
 leate owte to theire handes for fowrescore & [nyneeteen] yeare. 812

*Avar.* Loe, cosyn honestee, loe, doo ye heare thiſ geare ?  
*Faith* youer Marſhip will thrive att the latter Lammas.

*Adul.* I nowe graunte myſelfe to haue been a verye asſe ;  
 but all ys not yet gonне / in caſe I haue goode lucke. 816

*Oppr.* No, there is yet enoughe left, for a better plucke.  
 For ſome of them were aged & yet would not dye,  
 and ſome would in no wyſe to owre desyres applye.  
 But we haue Roddes in pysſe for them everye chone, 820  
 that they ſhalbe flyced yf we reigne, one by one.

*Avar.* And howe dyd all frame with our Mounſire Authorytee?

*Oppr.* Att lengthe he wonne the full ſuperiortee.

*Adul.* But the rude groſſe People at hym repyneth ſore ; 824  
 and againſte vs all fowre with a wyde throte dothe he rore.  
 But ſoſte, peace ! me thinketh, I here hym hem and hake :  
 If we mete here all fowre, we ſhall ſome ordre take.

<sup>1</sup> Here the ſcribe copied l. 800 and then ſtruk it out.

<sup>2</sup> for above the line.

<sup>3</sup> MS. graunce.

Adulation  
 complaineth,  
 the biſhops  
 are gone.  
 [leaf 371, bk.]  
 But Oppreſſion  
 saith he  
 hath not yet  
 all.

Oppreſſion  
 hath left the  
 biſhops  
 nought but  
 their ſees,

and hath  
 given in  
 exchange  
 parſonages,  
 ſold at great  
 profit and let.

'Honesty'  
 hath been  
 indeed ſlow.

Oppreſſion  
 hath ſome  
 pickings left.

Insolence  
 governed all.  
 Adulation  
 sayeth how  
 the people  
 pineth ; but  
 Insolence  
 entereth.

Act III, sc. vi.

*Actus tertij, scena sexta.***INSOLENCE, ADULACION, OPPRESSION, AVARICE.**

*Insolence.* What, myne olde frendes all three ? by my truthe,  
sirs, well founde. 828

*Adul. et Oppr.* feith, syr, mooste hartelye welcome into this  
grownde.

Insolence  
wondereth at  
the bags.

*Insol.* Bones, what have we here ?

*Avar.* a hah !

Avarice will  
have them all  
and guard  
them ;  
[leaf 372]

*Insol.* bags of money, I trowe.

*Avar.* Have we ? Naie, I have, but none for youe, *that I*  
knowe !

and the  
castles Inso-  
lence hath, he  
hath through  
"Policy."

Loe, sir, thus might an honeste man come to his harmes.

I will lye downe on them & kepe theym in myne armes. 833

*Insol.* Haste thowe gotte all this ? I miselfe have not so  
muche.

*Avar.* Than have ye whole townes & castells : I have none  
suche :

yet wyll ye not denie, I iudge in my fansie,  
that ye gotte theym by the drifts of me, Policie. 836

Avarice hath  
won most.

*Insol.* I confesse that.

*Oppr.* all my landes are scarce so muche woorth.

*Avar.* Thei were lesse, when I, policie, firste sett yowre foorth.

*Adul.* he hathe purses with golde, woulde I had so manie.

*Avar.* It were pittie *that* suche a gooce shoulde have enie. 841  
youre good Masship appoincted me to crummess & scraps,  
but Policie wyll lyve by his neighbours, perhaps.

Avarice will  
safeguard his  
bags from his  
compeers,

But thus I see you woulde polle me, an ye wiste howe ; 844  
therefore I will goe hoorde yt, I make God a vowe ;

I will make yt sure vnder myne doores and myne lockes,  
and who but looketh that waie, shall syt in niene stockes.

but will  
declare how  
he hath them  
gotten, if  
they stand  
afar.

*Insol.* Naie, fyrste declare to vs howe thowe didst all this  
geate. 848

*Avar.* For your learning, I will youe a spectacle sette.  
but fyrst gette ye from me, & stande a goode waie hence :  
This shallnot lye within *your* reache, by youre lycence.

Naie, yet farther, lest ye take my bagges for bluddinges, 852  
for suche hongrye doggs will slabbe vp sluttishe puddinges.

*Adul.* Is yt well nowe ?

*Avar.* yea, nowe hardelie stand there styl,

and the Names of my baggs to yowe declare I will.

Firste and foremoste, this bagg is my veraie cleare gaine  
of leases encroched and foorthwith solde againe.

This bag is myne intresse, of thys yeares userie,  
and this is of Mattiers bolstred vp with periurie.

This is bribes above my stipende in offecis;  
This fifth I have by selling of benefices.

This ys my rentes that my clerkes yearelye render me,  
to bee & contynue in offyce vnder me.

This same I got by sectourshipp of my Mother,—  
A vengeance on hir, old witche, for suche an other.

This bag have I kepte of other sectourships whole,  
whiche the Madde knaves woulde had scattered by penie dole. /

This is of Churche goodes scraped vpp withoute a lawe,  
For which was as quicke scambling as ever I sawe ;  
of their plate, their iewels & copes we made them lowtes,  
Stopping peoples barking with lynnens rags & clowtes.

Thei had thalter clothes, thalbes and amices  
with the sindons in which wer wrapte the chalices.

This nyneth hath beguiled the king of his custome ; /  
This tenth of selling counterfaicte wares hath come.

Nowe this eleventh is of tallowe, Butter, Cheese,  
Corne, Raweclothes, leether, by stelth sent beyond seaes.

This twelfth is of grayne, bell meatall, tynne and lead  
Conveighd owte by crekes whan Respuplica was in bed.  
This thirteenth I filled throughe facing owte of dawes,

bothe from landes and goodes by pretence of the lawes.  
Thus these thirteen smale Iobbes are myne by policie :

All men must shifte for a poore Lyving honestlye.

If er I bestowe them, yt shalbee the nexte Lent  
to the Prioure of Prickingham and his covent.

*Adul.* well nowe, we maie come nere, maie we not if we lust ?

*Avar.* ye are nere enoughe : oute of my reache I dare youe  
trust.

*Adul.* well, Nowe lett vs sing, yf ytt please Authoritee,  
to refreshe oure spirites yt ys restorytee.

*Insol.* I recke not for Compaignie sake to sing once [more.]

*Avar.* I have lesse minde to sing nowe then I had before :  
than had I no luste to sing because I was bare,  
And nowe howe to kepe that I have gotte, I doe care.

856 The first bag  
is of leases  
encroached  
and resold ;  
the second  
and third of  
interest and  
perjured  
usury ;  
the fourth,  
bribes of  
office ;  
the fifth, sales  
of livings ;  
the sixth, his  
clerks' fees  
for service ;  
the sixth and  
seventh from  
sectorships ;

864 868 the eighth, of  
church goods

(People was  
gagged);

872 876 the ninth, of  
flechings from  
the customs ;  
[leaf 373, bk.]

876 the tenth,  
forged wares ;  
the eleventh  
from wrong-  
ful exports ;  
the twelfth, of  
grain and  
other goods  
smuggled  
away ;  
the thirteenth  
from  
deceivings of  
simpletons,

880 884 how he may  
bestow them.

888 Adulation  
would fain  
sing.

892 Avarice is  
loth, for he  
is still filled  
with care.

He suffereth  
their singing,  
if they gaze  
not at his  
bags.

Avarice  
warneth  
them to  
make hay  
while the sun  
shines,

for time  
revealeth all,

and hath a  
daughter,  
Verity, who  
blabbeth.  
[leaf 373]

Avarice  
warneth  
them to take  
time by the  
forelook, but  
in Latin,  
which  
Oppression,  
who owneth  
many bishop-  
ries, under-  
standeth not.

Avarice ex-  
plaineth the  
myth of the  
goddess  
Occasion.

*Oppr.* Solace we muste nedes have whan *that we are* werie.

*Adul.* It prolongethe life of Manne to bee merye.

*Avar.* An if ye singe so muche, honestie, withoute faile, 8—96  
Christe & youe at length, I feare, will make a battaile.

But goe too, sing on, yf there be no remedie :

An ye Loke at my bags, ye marre my melodie.

(Cantent, Hey nonye nony hough for money etc.)

*Oppr.* Now, abought profitte devise we ourselves abrode. 9— 00

*Avar.* Yea, and heare ye, Maisters? while time is laie on  
lode,

Consider ye have but a tyme of hey Making,

And harvest is not mued withoute peines taking.

Nowe tyme willnot tarye & therefore take good hede : 9— 04  
despache while tyme serveth and all *your* matie[r]s spede.

Tyme hath no reine nor bridle / but renneth a pace.

*Insol.* Marke Policies woordes / sirs, excellent in our cace. —

*Avar.* And tyme hathe this one vngracious propertee 8—08  
to blab at length & open all that he dothe see.

Than a daughter eke he hath, called Veritee,

As vnhappye a long-tounged girle as can be.

she bringeth all to light, some she bring[eth] to shame, 12  
she careth not a grote what Manne hath thanke or blame.

yf men be praise worthie, she dothe so declare them,

And if otherwyse, in faithe, she dothe not spare them.

*Oppress.* we will feather oure nestes, ere tyme maye vs esp —  
or Veritee have powre our doinges to descrye. 17

*Avar.* Remembre this verse, ut sint omnia salva,  
Fronte capillata, post hec occasio calva.

*opprr.* Make me vnderstande that fyne rag of rhetorike. 20

*Avar.* Loe, here a fyne felowe to have a bisshopricke !  
a verse of latynne he cannot vnderstande,  
yet dareth he presume boldelye to take in hande,  
Into a-deanerie or Archdeaconrye to choppe, 924  
And to have the livelood awaie from a bisshop.

*Oppr.* [A mercie, shewe]<sup>1</sup> thie verse and leave thys perswasio —

*Avar.* Forsouthe, sir, yt was of the goddesse occasyon.  
She weareth a greate long tuffet of heare beefore, 928  
and behinde hathe not one heare / neither lesse nor more.  
whereby is taught youe that, when Occasyon ys,

<sup>1</sup> Here Prof. Brandl suggests 'beschrewe,' but four syllables are wanted.

ye muste take yt be tyme / or of your purpose mysse.

*Adul.* Than, while Occasion doeth nowe serve soo well / 932

I prais youe geve eare to one thing *that I must tell.*

*Inso. et Oppr.* what ys that?

*Adul.* Mounsire, yf ye heare people mumbling,  
ye muste storme & sharpelye take hym vp for stumbling.  
ye woulde not thinke what he said a litle while sens 936  
of vs, to Respublica / in myne owne presence.

*Inso.* Whan I mete theym nexte / I shall tell them bothe my  
mynde.

*Avar.* And policie to helpe youe / wyll not be behinde.

*Adul.* Ientle Respublica was soone pacified, 940  
But people was sturdie & woulde not be qualified.

*Avar.* Alas, good poore selie sowle, beare heare faire in hand,  
And ye maie wynne hyr / as youe lust to vse hyr land.

*Oppr.* But of goddesse Occasion one lytle more. 944  
*Avar.* Marye, sir /, even as I woulde have said before,  
she standeth with winged feete on a rolling whele  
to take flyght, or anie grasse maie growe on hir hele.  
And even while we stand, iangling in this presence, 948  
I dare saie she is floweren twise twentie score myle hence.

*Oppr.* yea ? cockes bones / than Adew /

*Insol.* farewell /

*Adul.* and I am gone.  
[exeant currentes.

*Avar.* Feithe and have after, as faste as I can anon.

*N*ow, my goddamighties, as I dyd hither tugg youe, 952  
So will I on my backe to your lodging lugg youe.

And sure, yf ye can be quiet there, and lye stylly,  
I will shortelye bring youe moo felowes ; so I wyll.  
I have a good benefyce of an hundred Markes ;  
yt is smale policie to give suche to greate clerkes—

They will take no benefice, but thei must have all ;  
A bare clerke canne bee content with a lyving smale.

Therefore, sir Iohn Lacke Latten, my frende, shall have myne,  
And of hym maie I ferme yt for eyght powndes or nyne. 961

The reste maie I reserve to myselfe for myne owne share,

For wee are good feeders of the poore, so wee are ;  
and we patrones are bounde to see (I dooe youe tell) 964

The churche patrimonie to be bestowyd well :

Adulation ad-  
viseth them  
of People  
how he is  
discontent.

Insolence and  
Avarice will  
browbeat  
him.  
Avarice  
teacheth how  
to use Res-  
publica.

Oppression  
wishing to  
know more  
of Occasion,  
Avarice  
answereth,  
that time  
flies, and so  
they all  
depart.

[leaf 878, bk.]  
Avarice,  
alone,  
addresseth  
his bags,

and will add  
to them by  
appointing a  
curate to a  
benefice,

for he feedeth  
the poor well,  
and can  
bestow other  
Church patri-  
monies.,

*He draggeth  
his bags  
home.*

other od corners besydes these I have mannye,  
which withall good sped shall encrease your comp[aignie.]  
Come on nowe, therefore : In feith, I doo greate wronge, 968  
to promise you lodging & kepe you thens so long. [exc~~eat~~at.]

Act IV, sc. i.

*Actus quarti, scena prima.*

RESPUBLICA.

*Respublica  
remaineth ill  
at ease, for  
People is still  
aggrieved,*

*and seeth no  
advance.*

*Can her rulers  
be unjust?*

*People ap-  
proacheth.*

*Respub.* O lorde, what maie yt meane to bee thus borne— in  
hand,

And yet none emendment to fele nor vnderstand ?

People dothe dailie and hourelye to me resorte, 72  
Chalenging my promise of relief and comforde.

I reporte to hym, as my rewlers doe to mee :

People still affirmeth that they devourers bee.

The more I doo hym chere / the more he dothe dispaire : 966

I saie his wealth doeth mende, he saithe it dooeth appaire.

what shoulde I iudge of this ? maie yt bee credible,

or by anie reason maye yt be possible,

That suche fowre as those in whome I have putt my truste,  
shewing suche face of frendship, shoulde bee men vniuste ? 981

I will knowe if people feele yet anye redresse

of his former sors & of hys rufull distresse.

we shall meete soone, I doubtē not, & talke together, 984

And loe, as I woulde wishe, he approcheth hether.

[*Inrat* people.]

Act IV, sc. ii.

*Actus quarti, scena secunda.*

RESPUBLICA, PEOPLE.

*People is in  
extremity.*

*Respub.* well mette, People, what place goe ye nowe vntoo ?

*Peopl.* I cham at the ferthest to zee howe yowe doo.

we twayne must eft whiles come fisike either other, 988  
vor wee beethe your children, and youe beethe our Mother.

*Respublica.* / And howe doo youe mend now in your thrifte  
& your purse ?

*people.* As zoure ale in sommer, that is still wurse & wurse.

*Respub.* People, what sholde I saie ?

*people.* nai, masse, I scannot tell :  
but we ignorams all woulde faine ye shoulde doe well ; 993

[leaf 374]

and how fele you yourselfe? better then ye dyd trowe?

*Respub.* Till God send better happe, rather decaie then growe.  
this bringeth me in a concepte of zelousye. 996 Respublica is  
not happy;

Rather than muche goode, would I speake with Policie.

*peopl.* was not he drownde, trowe, last yeare, whan Conscience  
was?

was not  
Policy lost  
even with  
Conscience?  
Avarice  
draweth near.

*Respub.* I see hym yonder appere: this cometh well to passe.

*Peopl.* Is this same he?

*Resp.* yea.

*peopl.* an iche heard not you zo zai 1000

Chouldre zware a had bee deade, orels cleane renne awaye.

### *Actus quarti, scena tertia.*

Act IV, sc. iii.

[AVARICE], RESPUBLICA, PEOPLE.

*Avar.* O mooste noble Ladie, that I have not of late  
Made to youre relacion how ye stande in state,  
hath not been of negligence, nor to weo[r]ke by stelthe  
but of my depe studies devising for your wealthie. 1004

Avarice  
excuseth  
himself for  
long absence.

*Respub.* To heare the truthe thereof, I wisshed youe to see.

*People.* Dooeth youe studd your braines, mace Lentman, man,  
prarie youe tell me,  
for our Ladie Rice puddingcakes commoditee?

People lend-  
eth not ear  
to the zeal of  
Avarice.

*Avar.* I devyse what I canne for the prospiritee  
of thy Ladie Respu[b]lica / & hyr people. 1008

*Peopl.* That lye, ere this, is flowen as ferre hens as Polle  
steple.

I apraie god ye studde not, as cha hard of zome elfes  
that studdie for the comon profytte of theire owne selfes. 1012

*Avar.* To studie for both your welthes, I am a debtor.

*peopl.* vaye than, as goode ner a whitt as ner the better.

*Avar.* I doo nothing but Coumpace therefore, withoute  
doubte. 1015

*peopl.* I, vey then, the[e] vet to[o] ferre a coumpace abowte.

For zome good might ha bee doone in all this season.

*Avar.* So there is, if to perceive ytt, ye had reason.

*Respub.* Truelie, I fele miselfe hitherto wurse and wurse.

*people.* And I svele the same, bothe in my grownde and my  
purse; 1020

Vive or zixe yeare ago chad vowre kine to my paile,

RESPUBLICA.

But Respu-  
blica feeleth  
herself how  
she is unwell,  
and six or  
seven years  
ago People  
was prosper-  
ous.

& att this prezent howre cham scarce woorthe a good cowe  
taile;<sup>1</sup>

and that tyme chad a widge, and hir vole & tenne shepe;<sup>1</sup>

[leaf 874, bk.] Nowe I scan geate nothing my zelife and my wife to kepe. 1024 —

Than an chad, I bee with the kinges masse counstable,

Choulde zette myselfe voorth pretelye & zo chwas hable.

Now vor lacke of a sallet whan my lyege hath neade,  
cham vaine to take an hatte of godsgood on my heade. 1028

And, vor God, my Dame, this ys but small amendment.

I scomporte me to youe: howe thinketh youre iudgement?

Coumpacing? ka! Lentman, call ye thissame coumpacing?

And / whom shall we twaine thanke, youe, for this compacing?

*Avar.* No, sir. 1033

*peop.* Nowe by the compace that god coumpaced!

*Respub.* Blame have thei of God & man, *that* this compaced.

*Peopl.* A small coumpace more, nowe, maie zoone Coumpace,  
by throod,

To make fowertie thowsaunde volkes heare growe throughe their  
hood. 1036 —

who cannot  
explain.

*Avar.* That is their owen faulfe, not the faulfe of policie.

*Respub.* God above he knowith whose faulfe it is & not [I].

*Peopl.* but did not yche daylie geve youe warning?

*Resp.* doubtlesse.

*peopl.* And dyd not yche plaine me to youe?

*Resp.* I graunte no lesse. 1040 —

*peopl.* And whan ich made my mone / what woulde [ye] to  
me tell?

*Respub.* as my hope was, that att length althing shoulde  
bee well.

*peopl.* Coumpacing? ka!

*Resp.* people, I put truste in other.

*peopl.* valse bezeivers of zembitee, by Godds Mother. 1044 —

Avarice  
asketh leave  
to bring his  
compeers.

*Avar.* well, suffer me then for my declaracion  
to fett Authoritee and Reformacion

That ye maie bothe heare & charge them as well as me.

*Respub.* with<sup>2</sup> all my harte, goode Policie, let ytt so bee. 1044 —

I pracie youe, call theim hither, if thei maie bee gotte.

*people.* Anche heare om, I scan tell where thei saie true or not —

<sup>1</sup> Transposed and marked *b a* in MS.

<sup>2</sup> with *for* with.

*Actus quarti, scena quarta.*

Act IV, sc. iv.

AVARICE, INSOLENCE, RESPUBLICA, OPPRESSION, PEOPLE.

*Avar.* The fowlest open-mowthed whretch *that* eare ye harde.*Insol.* Couldest thowe by no meanes make the peasaunte  
afearde? 1052*Avar.* No, but anon I trowe we shall his Masship trym;  
Conveigha hir awaie / & than all wee three chide hym,  
But whiste and come apace.*Respub.* I here Policies voyce.*Avar.* That I mette youe so well, I doe muche rejoyce. 1056*Ladye Respublica,* woulde youe come hir before.Avarice  
abueth  
People whom  
he could not  
hush, but  
they shall  
convey Res-  
publica away,  
and drive  
him forth.

[leaf 375]

*Insolence.* Madame, God ye save.*Oypr.* & preserve for evermore.*Resp.* This is happie happe ye come soo soone tigither. 1059*Avar.* As I went, I mette them bothe twaine hasting hether.*Resp.* Never in better tyme.*Insol.* Madame, what is *your* will?*Oppress.* Is there eni thing *that* youe woulde saie vs vntill?*Respub.* People cryeth oute & I am muche agrievied

That we fele oure selves in nothing yet relived. 1064

*Oypr.* No? that is not true; Mannie declare I canne.—*Respub.* Even in briefe woordes / I priae youe, doe yt than.*peopl.* Praie youe lett me spouse with thissame new comme  
gentman.*Insol.* No, sir.*Peopl.* Masse, but chil speake anche can spie my tyme whan.*Oypr.* Firste, youre priestes & bisshops have not as thei  
have had. 1069*Resp.* [whan] they had theire Lyvinges, men were bothe  
fedde and cladde.*Oppress.* Yea, but they ought not by scripture to be calde  
lordes.*Respub.* That thei rewle the churche with scripture well  
accordes. 1072*oypr.* Thei were prowde and covetous / & tooke muche vppon  
theim.*people.* but they were not covetous that tooke all from theym.*oypr.* The coigne eke is chaunged.*pepl.* yea from silver to drosse,Insolence and  
Oppression  
ask of Res-  
publica what  
she desireth.  
Respublica is  
not relieved.Oppression  
with first the  
Church is  
poorer, but  
then People  
was fed.But Church-  
men should  
not be lords,  
except over  
the Church.Were they  
not proud?And is Re-  
formation  
not proud?  
The coin is  
changed  
to worse,

for People  
payeth in  
the new coin,  
but receiveth  
in the old.

The new Coin  
is forged out  
of Church  
bells.  
Insolence  
saith People  
hath more  
money.  
People can-  
not answer.

[leaf 375, bk.]  
People telleth  
how the  
woods are  
destroyed,  
and grazings  
have made  
meat dear.

Respublike  
lamenteth.

Avarice saith  
she is safe.

Shall she  
believe the  
ignorant  
People?

(twas tolde vs) vor the beste ; but poore wee bare the losse !  
whan chad with zwette of browes got vp a fewe smale crumn  
att paing of my debtbes ich coulde not make my sommes. 16  
my landlorde vor my corne / paide me zuche sommes & zuch  
when he should hate vor rent, yt was but haulfe zo muche.  
zix pence in eche shilling was I-strike quite awaie,  
zo vor one piece iche tooke, che was vaine to paie him twaie.  
one woulde thinke twer brasse, &, zorowe have I els,  
But, ichwin, mooste parte ont was made of our olde bells. 18

*Insol.* Yet, if ye Marke ytt well, for one peice ye have thr  
whiche for your people is no smale Commoditie.

*Peop.* well, I will medle in thissame matier no more,  
but Is recke not an twer ziluer as twas avor. 19

*Oppr.* People, ye shall att lengthe finde ytt all for the bes  
People. Cha harde our parrishe clarke saye diuum es  
Iustlum weste.

*Respub.* vndoubtedly, I fele many thinges are amisse. 16

*People.* Yea, I scan tell moo thinges yet, an me luste by li  
Thei have all the woodes throughout the realme destroyed,  
which might have served long yeares, beeing well emploied.  
& than the greatte cobbes have zo take the reste to hire,  
that poore volke cannot gett a sticke to make a fire. 16

Than their great grazing hath made fleshe so dere, I wotte,  
that poore volke att shambles cannot bestowe their grotte.

*Reep.* I lamente yt, People. Alac, what maie I doe ?  
I miselife, I feare, shall come to ruine toe. 11

Policie, what counforte ? whan will youe ease my smarte ?

*Avar.* ye are as safe even nowe, but for your false harte,  
As any ladie of your name in Christendome.

*Peopl.* If iche had zo zaide, chad lied by my holidome. 11

*Resp.* Ye heare what People saith which feleth as I doe ?

*Avar.* But rude Peoples wordes will ye geve credytle vnto ?  
will ye iudge yourself after his foolishe [iangling] ?  
ye wer well enoughe tyll he begonne his wrangling. 11

*Insol.* will ye beleve People that hath no manier of skill  
to iudge or to deserne what thing is good or yll ?  
he is so headstrong, he muste bee bridled with Lawes.

*Peopl.* Thoughe zome bee starke bedlems, yet wise voll  
beeth no dawes. 11

<sup>1</sup> for too.

- We have ofte founde People / mooste disobedient,  
mooste requisyte and expedient.  
Insolence  
saith People  
hath been  
disobedient,  
and should  
be rebuked.
- ¶ a mainteynour of wrong opinions  
in all Countries and dominions ? 1116  
therefore to rebuke hym att all houres  
raginge anie ministers of yours.
- Ye muste tarrye tyme, ere<sup>1</sup> we can your pourpose serve. Oppression  
ye[a], & than, while the grasse shall growe, the horse  
all sterue. 1120  
pleadeth for  
time.
- Doe ye not see this by all experience plaine,  
from deseases recover againe,  
Men after  
sickness are  
weak.
- sycknes paste / remaine a long tyme weake ?  
People, herke, Authoritee dooth good reason speake.  
So ye thoughe Oppressed with Longe aduersitee, 1125  
e not, are towarde wealth & prospiritee.
- Loe, People, to hope a while longer shall bee best.  
well then, chaim perswaged to doo at your enquest.  
Madame / mistruste not vs your painfull Ministers.  
Respublica  
and People  
will wait.  
Ministers  
must be  
trusted.
- Never had Ladie more watchfull officers. /  
For my parte, I will sware the gosspell booke vpon,  
e Lawes I have made shoulde everye one 1132  
to myne own singuler comodytee,  
[leaf 376]  
lde not be frendelier framed then thei be.  
If all the  
laws aided  
but Oppres-  
sion, yet they  
are good.
- Therefore repose yourselfe, Madame, a while & winke.  
better case towarde then youe can thinke. 1136  
Respublica  
willch to  
depart in  
trust.
- We shall heare remaine, and geve People good counsaile,  
¶ be, tyll Policie maie prevale.  
¶e will doe well with your goode informacions.
- Yea, vei, chil volowe their goode exaltacions. 1140  
And People  
will obey,
- Than I leave youe all heare to God : I will departe.  
[exit Resp.]
- Now howe ? Destructions to membre in my harte ?  
Destructions ! ye miser !  
ye peasaunt !  
ye lowte !  
and awaiteth  
instruction.  
And they  
abuse him for  
complaining  
and troubling  
Respublica.
- [Canne ye naught]<sup>2</sup> els doe but rage & rave &  
ye owt ? 1144  
And cannot tell on whome ?  
no more then can a dawe.

<sup>1</sup> youe struck out after ere.<sup>2</sup> So Prof. Brandl.

*Oppr.* Crow against your betters!

*Insol.* & murmoure againste the Lawe!

Leate me heare thee prate, as thowe haste doone heeretofore.

*Avar.* Or trouble Ladie Respublica anie more. 1148

*Oppr.* Thow canst not see, thow wretch / canst thow whan  
thow art well?

*Avar.* Ist parte of thie plaie with suche highe Matiers to mell?

*Insol.* Doethe yt become the[e] to barke / with suche awide  
throte?

*Avar.* And to have an ore in everye bodies bote? 1152

*Insol.* If thowe dooe so againe, yt shall with the[e] bee warse.

*Oppr.* we shall wring & pinche the[e] / bothe by bealie &  
purse. 1154

*Insol.* I wolde aduise youe, frende, to grunte & grone no more.

*Oppr.* Doe the like againe, & thoue shalte rue yt ful sore.

*Avar.* It were best for you, freend, all mourmouringe to cease.  
*people.* bum vei than, chil een goo home, / and vaire holde mi  
peace.

People will  
go home,

*Insol.* Dooe soo by my reade / & fall to honest laboure.

*Avar.* hens home & bee quiete, & thowe shalte fynde favour.  
*people.* Then chil byd youe vare well. 1161

*Oppr.* no woordes, but hens a pace.  
this was doone as shoulde bee.

*Avar.* this was doone in right place.

*people.* but howe, one worde erche goe / yele geve volke leave  
to thinke?

*Oppr.* No, marie, will we not, nor to looke but winke. 1164

*people.* yes, by gisse, but chil loe, naie, loe thare, pought is free,  
& a catt, bey zaith, maie looke on a king, pardee. [exit.

*Inso.* Nowe where doo wee beecome? I home. [exit.

*Oppr.* And I abrode. [exit.

*Avar.* And I must see what feete abought my doore have  
trodde. [exit.

Act V, sc. i.

### *Actus quinti, / scena prima.*

/ MISERICORDIA. /

Mercy en-  
tereth prais-  
ing God, how  
he is merciful,  
and sparseth  
men in their  
folly,

*Miserico.* Wherein apeareth the graciousnesse of God,  
more then ynfinitlye to excede mans goodnesse,  
but that he kepeth backe the sharpe stroke of hys rod  
whan man woulde rage in mooste furious woodenesse? 1172

- Scarce anie emendes maie mannes eagrenesse appeace,  
yea, & though he forgeve, he wilnot soone forgette :  
towarde true penitens Gods wrathe foorthwith doothe cease,  
& he their past sinnes behind his backe dooeth sett.      1176  
and forgiveth  
sin.
- Of long sufferaunce he is with weaknesse to beare,  
while anie hope of emendment dooethe remaine,  
& though he plague synners to call them home by feare,  
yet his mercye and grace are ai readie againe.      1180  
God is of long  
suffrance.
- His grievous displeasure dureth not for ever,  
And why ? quia miserations eius,  
whiche to shewe he chieflye delighteth ever,  
Manent super omnia Opera eius /      1184
- It grieveth hym sore whan he muste neadeas take veangeaunce ;  
his delite and glorie ys mercie to practyse ;  
his tender compassion on trewe repentaunce,  
he hath still from the beginni[n]ge sowte texercise.      1188
- The masse of this worlde in his mercie did he frame,  
the skie, yearthe and sea his mercye replenished :  
In his mercye, dyd he after redeame the same,  
whan els remedilesse yt must have peryshed.      1192  
Creation is  
but proof of  
His good-  
ness.
- In his Mercie was Israell delivered /  
from the Gyptian thralldome and captivitee.  
In his mercye the same throughe the red sea was led,  
And through wildernesse to a land of Libertee.      1196  
Israel was  
delivered by  
His kindli-  
ness.
- Syth that tyme, all comonweales he hath protected,  
and to suche as withe earnest prayer have made mone,  
me, Compassion, he hath amickelye directed  
to revive & recover theym everie one.      1200  
Mercy He  
hath ap-  
pointed to  
succour com-  
monwealths.
- Now lastely, hath he harde the mooste doufull lament  
of wofull Respublica his derling mooste dere.  
Therefore me, Compassion, with sped he hathe sent,  
hir mooste sorowfull herte to recoumforte & chere.      1204  
And Mercy  
will aid  
Respublica.
- I tarrye hir commynge that I maie hir salute,  
& Loe, me thinketh, I see hir appere in place,  
of friendshipp devoyde / & of succoure destitute.  
I will heare hir and than geve wordes of solace.      1208  
[leaf 377]

Act V, sc. ii.

*Actus quinti, scena secunda.*

RESPUBLICA / MISERICORDIA / AVARICE / ADULACON /

*Respub.* O Lorde, haste thowe for ever closed vp thine eare ~~—~~  
*Respub.* beseecheth  
 God for help,  
 though she  
 be unworthy.

wilt thowe never more the desolates praier heare?  
 wilt thou stylle torne awaie thy face from my distresse?  
 wilte thowe cleane forsake me and leave me coumfortlesse? 12 **1 2**  
 the secret sighes & sobbes & praiers of myne harte,  
 shall thei not forever thyne yeis to me converte?  
 I graunte that myne offences have so muche deserved,  
 But for whome, save sinners, ys thye mercie reserved? 12 **1 6**  
 [thow reservst it] so, which hithertoo hast been iuste;  
 Despaire, Lorde, I wilnot / nor thi goodnesse mistruste.  
 Lo downe on my destresse and for thye glorie sake,  
 Thoughe I bee ill worthie / it, mercye on me take. 122 **0**

Mercy app-  
roacheth  
her.*Miseric.* Now will I speake to hir.*Resp.* who maketh me afearde **2***Miser.* No, I will thee comforte / : god hath thi praier harde.  
 And now, *Respublica*, bee of good hope and truste.*Respub.* O Lorde, nowe doe I see that thowe arte ever iuste.*Miseric.* I am sent to recoumforte thee, *Respublica*. 122 **5***Respub.* O Ladie Compassion, Misericordia.*Miser.* What saie ye to me? what, wooman, can ye not speake **?**  
 I am com downe, all. youre sorowes at ons to breake. 122 ~~—~~  
 Speake, wooman. /*Respub.* Misericor.*Mia.* owte comfortablye.

ye shall have nowe no more cause to speake desperable.

*Respub.* My harte in Godds mercie is so delated<sup>1</sup>and bursteth  
into grateful-  
ness.

That my veraie spirite to heaven is elated.

123 ~~—~~

O. Ladie Compassion, welcome verament!

Ever bee God prayded / that youe to me hathe sent.

Mercy must  
fetch Truth.*Miseric.* Now that I have put youe in sure hope of relieve,

I must goe fett Veritee to trye owte all your grieve.

123 ~~—~~

Veritee shall open how your decaie hath growne,

&amp; then the causers thereof shalbe overthowne.

*Respub.* *Respub.* Who bee the causers thereof I cannot deserne,  
 knoweth not  
 who afflicteth  
 her.

but yond cometh one of them, that doe me governe.

12 ~~—~~ **10***Miseric.* What is his Name?<sup>1</sup> i. e. dilated.

<i>Resp.</i>	Policie.	Avarice entereth,
<i>Miser.</i>	policie is goode :	
— dooeth worke youe manie good things, of likelihoođ. /		[leaf 377, bk.]
<i>Avar.</i> A vengeaunce vpon hym & God geve hym his curse ;		musing on the pick- pockets.
am besieged Nowe of everye cutpurse ;	1244	
can goe no where now, in citie neither Towne,		
— <i>But</i> piers piekpurse plaieth att organes vnder my gowne /.		
<i>Miseric.</i> what talketh he ?		
<i>Avar.</i> who speaketh yond, Respublica ?		
<i>Respub.</i> What of the piekpurse ?		
<i>Avar.</i> Forsouth, Dame Respublica, 1248		
— saide an we had twoo pielouries mo, twer noe the wurse,		He would fain have more pil- lories, but asketh Merc who she be,
For yt is a light thing nowe to mete Piers Piekpurse.		
God preserve youe, right faire Ladie, & Christe youe save.		
— who are yowe ? & what woulde ye in this countrie have ? 1252		
<i>Respub.</i> This same is the Ladie Misericordia		
— sent from god purposely.		
<i>Avar.</i> vnto youe, Respublica ?		
<i>Misericor.</i> yea.		
<i>Avar.</i> Than muste ye nedes bee mooste hartelie welcome : and welcomes we had ner more nede of youe by my holydome. 1256 her.		
There bee in this countrye which but ye coumforte [send],		
are full like to make bothe a madde & a shorte end.		
<i>Niseric.</i> <sup>1</sup> I will goe to doo that I said, Respublica, 1259 Misericordia and retourne with spedē.		leaveth the scene, and Avarice followeth her, misdoubtful.
<i>Respub.</i> Swete Misericordia. [exit Miā.		
<i>Avar.</i> Good Misericordia now / and Ladie mooste deare,—		
Christe blister on your harte ; what Make youe heare ?—		
<i>Respub.</i> Come backe, Policie.		Respublica callith him back,
<i>Avar.</i> I come.		
<i>Resp.</i> whither woulde ye nowe ?		
<i>Avar.</i> Conveigh miselfe hens honestlye, if I wiste howe. 1264		
<i>Respub.</i> whan come ye, Policie ? what looke ye ? something lostē ?		
<i>Avar.</i> Anon. If I tarie, yt will tourne to my coste.		
<i>Resp.</i> Ah, frende Policie.		
<i>Avar.</i> yea.		
<i>Resp.</i> Now shall I bee in blisse. 1267		
<i>Avar.</i> thankes to God—we must finde provision for this.—		

<sup>1</sup> for Miseric.

*Respub.* hah?

and Avarice  
taketh the  
praise on his  
policy.  
Adulation  
entereth,

*Avar.* dydnot I er tell youe that God woulde you save? yee maie see nowe what it is, goode rewlers to have.

*Respubica.* ye saie trewth, but, looke, yonder cometh Honestie.

*Avar.* / Praie god, Amen.

1271

*Resp.* yes, looke els.

who would  
speak with  
Avarice.

Respubica  
hath not seen  
him for long.

*Avar.* what newes bringeth he [redacted]

*Adul.* I shoulde speake a woordre in theare of Policie;

If I maie not so, I will speake ytt openlie.

*Resp.* I have not seen youe a greate while, Honestie. 1275

*Adulac.* O Noble Ladie Respubica, well youe bee. /

*Respub.* All shalbee now, such newes I have to me brought.

*Adulac.* I heare yt toulde for trouth. Policye, all wilbee noughe/

*Resp.* hearest thoue anie Ioyfull newes abrode, or not?

*Adul.* yea, I have certaine Newes / which are bothe brym & hotte, 1280

there is newe stertt vp a ladye cald Veritee /

*Respub.* Than am I all safe, and sure of prospiritee.

how was yt spoken?

*Adul.* this is Laten, grosse and blunte,

Misericordia et veritas sibi obuiauerunt, 1284

That is, Mercye and truthe are bothe mett together /

Avarice is  
vexed ther-  
at,

*Respub.* Than will yt not bee long / ere thei bothe come hither.

*Avar.* hither? how so?

*Resp.* yea, bothe Mercie & Verytee.

and asketh  
whether it be  
the veritable  
Truth,  
Time's  
daughter.

Avarice  
describeth  
Time.

*Avar.* A pestle on them bothe, saving my Charitee.

1288

but softe, brother Honestie, / ye might mistake ytt;

Of whiche Veritee wast, trowe youe, *that thaye spake ytt?*

*Adul.* Of the generall Veritee, Olde tymes daughter. /

*Avar.* Feith, they were not our frendes *that firste hither*  
brought hir. 1292

olde tymes daughter? *that shuttle brained tall, long man,*

*That nere standeth still / but flyghth as fast as he canne,*

*muche like as he swymmed or glided vpon yce?*

*Adul.* yea.

*Resp.* for all that, of wise men, he is thought mooste wise.

*Avar.* I knowe hym; he carrieth a clocke on his heade, 1297  
A sandgasse in his hande, a diall in his foreheade.

*Respub.* ye saie truthe, Policie, the same is veraye he.

*Avar.* Old tyme the evisdropper: I knowe hym, pardee. 1300

An Auncient turner of houses vpside downe,  
 & a comon consumer of Cytie and towne.  
 Old tymes daughter (quod he)? I shrewe his naked harte ;  
 Manie of my frendes hath he brought to paine & smarte. 1304  
 Compassion and that Trueth come hither to yowe ?

*Respub.* Mercie, before ye came, promised so right nowe.

Respublica  
assureth him  
Truth and  
Mercy are  
come.

*Avar.* It is no tyme nowe, Honestie, to be idle.

*Adul.* Sommething brueh?

*Avar.* It is tyme for vs to bridle. 1308

well, goe your waies afore in all haste, Honestee,

Avarice  
biddeth his  
compeers  
give them  
welcome;

And tell Reformacion and Authoritee /

That bothe theis Ladies in all goodlye facion

muste bee enterteyned here in this Nacion.

1312

Madame Respublica, ist not your pleasure soo ?

*Respub.* what els? in all the haste, Honestee, see ye gooee.

*Avar.* Saie ferther that I wolde / we fowre anon might mete  
her, or where thei will, save in the open streeete. 1316

[leaf 387, bk.]  
he would  
meet with  
them pri-  
vately,

And here youe, Honestie?

*Adul.* what nowe?

*Avar.* a litell nere ;

and speaketh  
long and  
secretly with  
Adulation :  
Truth must  
be staved off.

provyde in anie wyse that Veritee come not heare.

Let Insolence & Oppression kepe hir hens.

1319

*Adul.* we shall all three therein / doe oure best Diligence.

*Avar.* Byd them well remembre the worlde will waxe quaisie ;

Some of vs erelong maie happe leape at a daisie.

Mercy's eye  
must be put  
out.

Or put owte the ,i, of Misericordia, /

And withowte an ,i, pliae een plaine trussing corda.

1324

[exit Adul.

*Resp.* Polycye, what is it that ye talke there so Long ?

*Avar.* I send instructions that thei maie not doe wrong.

*Respub.* Saide ye aught to hym, that maie not be tolde to me ?

Respublica  
is suspicioius.

*Avar.* Shoulde we with ery trifling trifle trouble ye? 1328

well then, ye looke for theis twoo Ladies, [I am sure].

*Respub.* I truste thei wilnot faile on me to doe theire cure.

*Avar.* I tolde youe ever, dyd I not? that your welthe woulde

frame ? 1331

*Respub.* I shall rewards your paines : oreis I were to blame :

*Avar.* Than beste I goe now streght to my felowes & see,—

*Respub.* That thinges nedefull for vs maie not vnreadie bee.

Doo soo, I prae youe.

Avarice will  
himself hastie  
to fetch them.

Respublica  
awaiteith  
her friends  
who enter.

*Avar.* Fare ye well, Respublica,  
till I see you nexte. [exeunt ~~—~~~~—~~]  
*Resp.* Nowe, Misericordia,  
whan shall bee thy pleasure, bring hither Veritee.  
[Intrant Miā et verita~~—~~~~—~~]  
behoulde een with the worde speaking, where thei bothe bee.

Act V, sc. iii.

*Actus quinti, scena tertia.*

MISERICORDIA, VERITAS, RESPUBLICA. /

Respublica  
must think  
the time  
long.  
She hath  
endured  
much, but  
the memory  
of sorrow  
maketh joy  
sweeter.

Respublica  
is glad.

[leaf 379]  
Mercy  
bringeth  
Truth.

Truth shall  
declare the  
case.

Respublica  
hath had  
good  
ministers.

*Miseric.* I dare saie Respublica thinketh the tyme Long.  
veritee / who can blame hir, having endured so muche wrong~~—~~?  
but as meate & drinke & other bodylye foode 134~~—~~1  
is never founde to bee, so pleasaunte nor so goode  
As whan fretting hongre / & thrifte hath the pincht afore ;  
& as health after sickenes is sweeter evermore,  
so after décaye & aduersytee overcome<sup>1</sup> 134 4  
welth & prospiritee shalbe double welcome.

*Miser.* How nowe, Respublica? have I not been Long hens?*Respub.* Come ye firste or Laste, ye blisse me with you~~—~~  
presence. 134~~—~~*Miser.* As I was commaunded, I bring you Veritee,  
to helpe you, youre people, and their posteritee.*veritee.* Dere iewell Respublica, I dooe youe embrace.*Resp.* I thanke your goodnesse & submitte me to your grace.*Miser.* Embrace Veritee for Ever, Respublica, 1353  
And cleve fast to hir.*Resp.* yes, Misericordia.*Miser.* Now please yt yow to declare, sister Veritee, /  
how she maie recover hir olde prospiritee,  
hir honour, hir wealth, hir riches, hyr substaunce,  
hir comons, hyr people, hir strength & hyr puissaunce.*veritee.* All this wilbee recovered in continent  
and to better state also by good governement. 1360*Respub.* No ladie of my name vpon yearth, I esteme,  
hath had better administers then myne have been,  
Policie, Reformacion & Authorite.*Miser.* Thes three bee veray good.*Resp.* and thee fowre<sup>[th]</sup> Honestee.<sup>1</sup> MS. evercome.

<i>veritas.</i> But what if these which have had youe & yours to kepe,	1365	Have they been false?
<b>Have been ravenyng woulves in the clothing of sheepe?</b>		
<i>Respub.</i> If I hard not youe, Verytee, suche sentence geve, <b>by no mans perswasion, I could ytt beeleeve.</b>	1368	Respublica must believe Truth.
<i>veritee.</i> Ah, good Respublica, thow hast been abused, <b>whom thoue chosest are vices to be refused.</b>		And Truth declareth them who they are.
<b>whom thoue calst Honestee ys Adulacion;</b>		
<i>And he that in pretence was Reformacyon, is in dede Oppression and houge violence.</i>	1372	
<i>Whom thoue calst Authoritee, is prowde Insolence. Than he <i>that</i> was Policie, the chiefe manne of price, Indede is moost stinking &amp; filthie Avarice.</i>	1376	
<i>he firste enveigled thee, and his purpose to frame Cloked eche of these vices with a vertuous Name.</i>		
<i>Resp.</i> Benedicte, is this a possible case? / <i>veritee.</i> ye shall see yt proved trewe before your owne face. thei shalbe convinced beefore youe one by one.	1381	
<i>Resp.</i> O Lorde, what mervail, if my thrifte wer well nigh gon?		What redress shall Res- publica have?
<b>but what redresse shall I have hereof? and whan?</b>		
<i>Miseric.</i> Suche as maie bee mooste fitte & as soone as we can. Iustice & peace are appointed to descende, thone to kepe youe quiete / theother youe to defende.	1385	Justice and Peace shall descend
<b>As soone as wee fowre sisters togither shalbe mette</b>		
<i>An<sup>1</sup> ordre fer your establishment shall bee sett, by the eternall providence / yt is decreed<sup>2</sup> soo.</i>	1388	[leaf 379, bk.]
<i>Respub.</i> O mooste mercifull lorde, all prayse bee thee vnto.		
<i>Miseric.</i> I will leave youe here with my syster Veritee.		
<b>And learne of their coming wyth all celerytee.</b>	1392	
<i>veritee.</i> ye nede not; For I knowe thei bee nowe veray nere, And beholde they begynne alreadie to appeare.		and enter.
<i>Actus quinti, scena quarta.</i>		Act V, sc. iv.
<b>PAX, IUSTITIA, VERITAS, MISERICORDIA, RESPUBLICA.</b>		
<i>peace.</i> Now ons againe in God leat vs twoo systers kisse In token of oure ioynyng to make a perfytte blysse.	1396	Peace and Justice kiss and will aid Respublica.
<i>Iusticia.</i> And nowe Leate vs never be soondred any more		

<sup>1</sup> MS. And.<sup>2</sup> MS. dcreed.

tyll we maie Respublica perfectelye restore.

*veritee.* Leat vs meete theym, Sister Misericordia /  
*Miseric.* And vnto theire sight present Respublica. 1400

*Iust. pax.* All haile, mooste deare Systers, Mercye & verytee,  
& all<sup>1</sup> hayle Respublica, with all sincerytee.

Respublica  
thanketh  
them.

*Respub.* O ye ladies celestiall, howe muche am I bounde  
with thankes to fall flatte before youe on the grownde, 1404  
That ye thus vouchesalve a forlorne creature  
by youre heave[n]lye protection to recure.

Justice will  
visit her,  
and Peace  
abide with  
her.

*Iustic.* I, Iustice, from heaven am come youe to visytte.  
*pax.* & I, Peace, for ever with yowe to enhabite. 1408

*Miseric.* And all wee fowre Systers, to thutmooste of our poure,  
shall restore, establishe, and defend youre honnour.

Justice will  
restore her.

*Iustic.* we shall firste restore your moste happie eastate  
& suppresse all them that had made youe desolate. 1412

Truth will  
reveal all.

*veritee.* Verytee shall all trueth open as ytt ys.

Mercy will  
pardon the  
weak.

*Iustic.* I, Iustice, shall redresse what er is founde amissee.

*Miseric.* I, Mercye, where the Membre maie recured bee,  
shall temper the rigoure / & slake extremitee. 1416

*pax.* I, peace, whan thuncurable is clene cut awaie  
& thyll made goode, shall flourishe for ever and aie.

[leaf 380]

*Respub.* And I, which cannot otherwise your goodnes deserve,  
shall your holsome directions dewlie observe : 1420  
and what yf Insolence shall come, or Avarice ?

Respublica  
is to detest  
Insolence and  
Avarice.

*veritee.* Detest them, abhore them, & refuse their service.  
I doubt not but thei wilbe styll haunting hither,  
tyll we fowre shall theim fowre take here altogether. 1424

They all de-  
part together

*Miseric.* Nowe, Sisters, goe wee and Respublica with vs  
to be Newe appareled otherwyse then thus.

*Iustic.* Come on, Respublica, with vs to wealth from woe ;  
godde hathe geven vs in charge that yt muste be soo. 1428

singing.

*veritee.* The blyfull renovacion ye shall reigne in  
muste from hensfoorthe nowe immediatelye begynne.

(Cantent, The mercye of God, et exeant etc.)

Act V, sc. v.

### *Actus quinti, scena quinta.*

#### AVARICE, ADULACION.

Avarice com-  
plaineth of  
the many  
beggars;

*Avar.* Suche gredie covetous folke as nowe of daies been,  
I trowe before these present daies wer never seen. 1432

<sup>1</sup> all above the line over a caret mark.

An honest man can goe in no place of the strete  
but he shall, I thinke, with an hundred beggers mete.  
geve for Goddes sake, geve for Saincte Charitee,  
geve for oure Ladies sake, geve for the Trenitee, 1436  
Geve in the waye of your good sped, geve, geve, geve geve.' /  
Finde we oure Money in the strete, doo theye beeleye?

If I had not a special grace to saie Naye,  
I wer but vndoonemongst them in one daie. 1440  
But who cometh yond? Honestee? he cometh<sup>1</sup> in haste?  
*Adual*. I seke Policie.

## *Avar.*

*Avar.* here, boye.

*Adul.* All is in waste.  
*Anar*, howe so?

*Avar.* howe so?

*Adul.* we strive againste the stremme all *that* we doo.

*Avar.* wherein?

*Adul.* that Veritee comme not this place vntoo. 1444 Truth  
or wotte ye what? draweth  
nigh.

For wotte ye what?

*Avar.* I shall whan he have speake the woordē.

*Adul.* Justice and Peace too, with full consent and accord  
e comme downe from heaven / & have<sup>2</sup> kyste together.  
and Justice  
and Peace  
have kissed.

*Avar.* God geve grace that theye twayne also comme not  
hither. 1448

*Adulac.* As mercye and trueth sibi obviaverunt,  
so Justicia et pax osculatae sunt.

*Amen.* Is ut traxi? are they come?

*Adul.* and have kist together. [leaf 380, bk.]

*Avar.* Than carrie yn a pace for feare of fowle weather. 1452  
have they kyssed together?

### *Adul-* yea-

*Avar* what nedeth that?

men shoulde kysse woomen And what pointe bee theye att?

*Adul.* All the four sisters, I doo you tunderstaunde  
have alredie taken Republike in hand. 1456

have already taken Respubica in hand. 1490  
Theye fowre progresse with hir in everye border,  
& marre all that ever we have sette in order.

*Avar.* And what doeth Insolence / or what saith he to that?

*Adul.* he stampeth, he stareth & snuffeth sore theareat. 1460

*Avar: I advise hym to storne & to shewe himselfe stowte:*

<sup>1</sup> MS. has *comes* crossed through before *cometh*.

<sup>2</sup> MS. has haste crossed through before have

Mercy may  
turn away.

Avarice  
praiseth him-  
self for the  
restoring  
Respublica.

and will thus  
persuade  
Respublica.

Adulation  
shall warn  
his comrades.

Respublica  
entereth,  
and Avarice  
stands aside.

And blameth  
Avarice,

thei bee weemen and perchaunce maye bee faced owte.  
And Peace is an honest Ladie and a quiete.

*Adul.* Veritee and Iustice are not for oure Dyete. 1464

*Avar.* Then Mercye ys a goode one; I like hir well.

*Adul.* yet oft turnth she hyr face awaie, and will not mell.

*Avar.* well, fall backe, fall edge, I am ons at a poincte

If Respublica comme, taduenture a loyncte. 1468

*Adul.* She is freshe and gaye / & flourissheth who but she?

*Avar.* who brought yt to suche passe, will I tell hir, but wee? Orels Making these newe Ladies of hir werie, we shoulde thrihumphe & reigne.

*Adul.* Oh, never so merye. 1472

*Avar.* well, goe to our Compaignie, I will remaine here; I maie perhaps see dame Respublica appere, I wilbe in hande with hir and make a goode face.

*Adul.* And what shall I doe?

*Avar.* geve warning in the meane space 1476 that Insolence skrinke not, but plaike the stowte man.

*Adul.* That I knowe he will doo, for ons I knowe he can.

*Avar.* And that youe all three be prest to comme hether. whan nede shall require, we laye our heades together. 1480 whye arte thoue heare yet?

*Adul.* I am gon withall my might. [exit]

*Avar.* And loe, where Respublica appereth in sight.

[Intrat Resp.

She is nowe att hyr Nymphes bearing vpp hir traine;  
I will stande a syde, & Lysten a worde or twaine. 1484

Act V, sc. vi.

### Actus quinti, scena sexta.

RESPUBLICA, AVARICE.

[leaf 381]  
Respublica  
thanketh God  
she is un-  
deceived.

And blameth  
Avarice,

*Respub.* O Lorde, thy mercies shall I sing evermore  
whiche dooeste soo tenderlie thie hande maide restore,  
but what creature woulde suspicion have had

That my late administers had been men so bad? 1488  
or who woulde have thought theim counterfaictes to have been  
That had harde their woordes, and their countenaunce seen?  
& chieflye Avarice which dyd the matier breake?

*Avar.* That worde towcheth me: now is tyme for me to  
speake. 1492

*Resp.* I thought hym Policie, as iuste & true as stele.

*Avar.* I am gladde that by me ye doo suche goodnesse fele.

*Respub.* And that my<sup>1</sup> wealth dyd growe, as it hath growne  
of late. 1495 who claimeth  
the merit,  
for her better-  
ment.

*Avar.* I ever tolde ye / youe shoulde growe to this eastate.

*Respub.* Thowe tell me?

*Avar.* yea, I tolde youe soo in veraie dede :  
& higlie I reioyce yt doeth so well succede.  
And Salva festa dies vpon youe, Madame !  
I am glad ye have gotte a newe robe, so I am. 1500  
what saincte in the callender doe we serve to daye,  
that ye bee so gorgeouslye decked and so gaye ?

*Resp.* In reioycing that I shalbe cleane ryd of thee.

*Avar.* Naie, by this crosse, ye shall neuer be rydde, for me.

*Respub.* And of thy compares. 1505

*Avar.* well, leate them doo as thei laste !

I will ryde vpon Iyll, myne owne mare ; *that* is iuste.  
other waies I shall doe yowe service of the beste.

*Respub.* Thowe wicked wretche, daresthe thowe with me  
to ieste ? 1508

*Avar.* What ? I now see, honores mutant mores,  
but as semeth here, raro in meliores.

*Respub.* The[e] and all thy service I doe from me exile.

*Avar.* Is, that the highe rewarde ye promist me ere while ?  
is not this a wise wooman and mynded to thrive, 1513  
That woulde me, Policie, owte of the countrie drive ?

*Respub.* Thee and thy counplices from me I shall owte caste.

*Avar.* Than I praiе youe paye vs, for our paines that are paste.

*Respub.* ye shalbe paide.

*Avar.* ons I have doone the best I canne /  
Authorytee also, he hath plaied the man.

Reformacion hath doen his parte, I canne tell.

If ye mystruste Honestie, feith ye doo not well. /

And as for Avarice he is conveighed quite :

I bed hym gette hym hens or I woulde hym endyte.

I, Policie, have made hym to plucke in his hornes :

I sware I woulde els laie hym on prickels & thornes,  
where he shoulde take no rest neither daie nor night ;

So he had as liefe bee hanged as come in sight.

who claimeth  
the merit,  
for her better-  
ment.

Respubica  
believeth him  
not.  
Avarice re-  
joiceth she  
is happy and  
freshly robed.

She will none  
of him.

She exileth  
him.  
Avarice pro-  
testeth  
against the  
driving  
Policy from  
the land.

Avarice  
would fain  
be paid.

Avarice hath  
done his best.  
Authority  
has been  
a man.  
Reformation  
hath done  
his part.  
[leaf 381, bk.]

Honesty  
should be  
trusted.  
Avarice hath  
driven  
Avarice  
forth.

<sup>1</sup> MS. has left crossed through after my.

*Respub.*  
Respubica,  
like Job, bath  
no comfort of  
her friends.

*Respub.* I maie saie with Job, howe vainelye doe ye cheare ~~me~~  
whan all the wordes ye geve frome truth doeth disagree, 1531  
And with the wise man, I maie moost iustlye saye this

Iust[ici]a tamen non luxit in nobis.  
Orels with the prophet in mooste sorrowfull moode,  
the fruictes of our Justice is tourned into wormwoode. 1532

And nameth  
him for what  
he is, Avarice.

Avarice saith  
she abuseth  
him,

and biddeth  
her bide his  
time.

He would  
have brought  
Kent to  
Northumber-  
land, and  
Somerset to  
Cumberland.

But Respub-  
lica is well,

and dis-  
misseth him,

Well, the best of youe is a detestable vice,  
And thow for thie parte arte mooste stinking Avarice.

*Avar.* Iesu, when were youe wonte so foule moothed to ~~bē~~,  
to geve suche Niecknames? Ah, in feith, dame Veritee 1 536  
hath had youe in scoolding of Late; well, in Gods name  
I am sorie for yowe, een sorie that [I am].

I wissem I have wrowte to sette youe in goode state  
& watched for that purpose / bothe earelie & late. 1 540

And I wis, if yowe woulde abyde my framynge  
& not thus to have fall to checking and blamynge,  
I woulde ere long of yowe made suche carpenter weorke,  
That ye shoulde have said Policie had been a clerke; 1544  
Naie, youe shoulde have seen, how I woulde have youe  
comparte.

*Respub.* Yea, no doubt, ye woulde have doone somme great  
& fyne acte.

*Avar.* I woulde have browght haulfe Kent<sup>1</sup> into Northumber-  
lande

& Somersett shiere should have raught to Cumberlante; 1548  
Than woulde I have stretche the countie of Warwicke  
vpon tainter hookes, & made ytt reache to Barwicke.

A pece of the Bisshopriue shoulde have comme southwarde.  
Tut, tut I tell yowe, I had wonderous feates towarde. 1552

*Respub.* God hath placed me alreaddie in the best wise.

*Avar.* yea, but yet not haulfe so well as I coulde devise.<sup>2</sup>  
but no force; well than, I see ye will none of mee.

*Respub.* No.

*Avar.* than ye can be content; I departe from yee.

*Respub.* yea. 1557

*Avar.* well, yet an<sup>2</sup> ye pracie me, I tarrye still.

*Respub.* No.

*Avar.* well, speake me faire & woo me yet / & I will -

<sup>1</sup> above line.

<sup>2</sup> MS. and.

<sup>3</sup> MS. devisee. These two lines are written in a finer hand.

*Respub.* No, hens; avaunt.

*Avar.* have I had of youe such a clogg,  
And nowe [youe] byd me avaunte & make me a dogg? 1560

*Respub.* Hens at ons /

*Avar.* Naie, tut, an ye will ha vs, ha vs.

*Respub.* owte of my presence.

*Avar.* well then, ye wilnot ha vs.

*Respub.* No, avoide, I charge the[e]. /

*Avar.* than nedes departe I muste.

Adieu, in feith I woulde have servyd youe of truste / 1564

But sens Respublica hath putt me to exile,  
where maye I goo kepe miselfe secrete for a while?  
is there neuer a goode chaplaine in all this towne,  
that will for a while hide me under his gowne, 1568

Never a goode farmer, neuer agoode Merchaunte Manne?  
well, I will goo pieke owt some corner, yf I canne.

but, first, will I monishe my fellowes of this geare;  
An we staye this plounge, I care not for the next yeaere. [exeat.] 1571

*Respub.* Nowe will I to Iustice & thother ladies three,  
And priae that these vices maie all suppressed bee.

[*Intrat* People.  
But loe, heare cometh people; I will nowe tourne againe  
And f<sup>i</sup>rst<sup>e</sup> knowe<sup>1</sup> of his goode state by a woorde or twaine. 1576]

[leaf 382]  
and he  
grieveth :  
where shall  
he go?

and will  
advertise  
his comrades.

Respubica  
would unto  
Justice, but  
stayeth to  
meet People.

### *Actus quinti, scena septima.*

Act V, sc. vii.

RESPUBLICA, PEOPLE.

*Respub.* what standith he prying? dareth he not entre?

*people.* Shoulde vaine zee my ladie: but I sdare not venter.

People  
feareth to  
approach,

*Respub.* Shrinke not backe from me, but drawe to me, my  
deare frend. 1579

*people.* Chill virst knowe an ye bee alone, zo God me mende.

*Respub.* Come, here bee non but thie frends, me beleve.

*people.* well than, chil bee zoo bolde to peake in by your leve.

*Respub.* how happeneth that thoue hast so long been me froo?

*people.* Marie, chill tell yowe: as soone as ye were agoe 1584  
hither cam a zorte of courtnalls, harde men & zore,  
Thei shaked me vp, chwas ner zo rattled avore.

Theye vell all vppon me, catche awoorde *that* might catche;  
well was hym that at me, people, might geat a snatche. 1588

he has been  
long away,  
and telleth  
how he has  
been afflicted,  
and enjoined  
not to see  
her

<sup>1</sup> *The scribe has written knowe twice over, and crossed out the second.*

Choulde have been at home rather then a newe grotte;  
 Iche maies zedge to youe, Is fearde pulling owte my throte.  
 They bade me pieke me home & come att yowe no more.  
 An ich did, thei zware, Is shoulde bee corrompt therefore. 159 ~~—~~  
 zo thieke prowte howrecop, what call ye hym?

by Insolence.

*Resp.*

Insolence.

*People.* yea, even thickesame, he vaire popt me to silence.*Respub.* And howe ys it with youe now? better then it was ~~—~~  
*people.* All beginneth now to comme gailie well to passe.All beginneth  
to prosper  
with him.wee heare of your goode vortune that goeth abowte, 159 ~~—~~  
 howe ye beeth permounted which makithe vs proute.  
 And iche am hable sens to bie me anewe cote,  
 And, Is thanke God, chaye in my purse a zilver grotte. 160 ~~—~~People is to  
hold the Vices  
back,I wis iche cowlde not zo zai these xixe yeaeres afore:  
 who ever cawsed yt, ill thanke have they therefore. /

[leaf 382, bk.]

*Respub.* Thei wilbe heare soone / byde youe theim here for ~~—~~  
 traine.*people.* Masse but I nynnac; woulde ye have om sqwatte owte ~~—~~  
 ons braine? 1604 ~~—~~*Respub.* They shallnot doe the[e] harme the value of a pointe—  
*peopl.* then, an youe ziae the woordie, ichill ieoperde a iointe.*Respub.* If thei but offer thee wrong, they shall smarte there—  
 fore.*people.* Naie, will ye bee zoo goode to tye om vp avore? 1608 ~~—~~  
 And what shalche zai to om?and to say  
nothing.*Resp.* nothing, but bee a bayte,  
 tyll take theim all here soodainelie I maie awayte. [exeat—]People  
wondereth  
that Res-  
publica  
setteth a  
trap.*people.* well, ytt shalbe doo; Choulde laugh and bothe my  
 handes clappe,  
 to zee Ricepuddingcakes envies take in a trappe. 1612 ~~—~~  
 & azee, pracie, if zome of om comnot yonder;  
 choulde my ladie had byd ner zo lytle longer. /

Act V, sc. viii.

*Actus quinti, scena Octava.*

INSOLENCE, ADULACION, OPPRESSION, PEOPLE, AVARICE. /

Insolence  
demandeth  
Avarice,  
  
and seeth  
People,*Insol.* where is Avarice, howe? he doeth not nowe appere.*Adul.* he bydde me monishe youe that we might all mete here.*Oppr.* But see where People staundeth. /*Adul.* / what dothe he here now? ~~—~~*Oppr.* Abought little goodnes, I dare my woordie avowe. 1618

- Insolence.* Let vs speake vnto hym. People, wherefore and  
why,  
like a loytring losell standeste thowe heare idelye ? 1620  
*Oppr.* Thou comest to Respublica to make some Mone ?  
*Adul.* Orels some complainte.  
*pepl.* you all see cham here alone.  
*Insolence.* ye must have silver Money, must ye, ientilman ?  
you cannot be content with suche coigne as wee can ? 1624  
*Oppr.* we muste burne woode & cole ; muste ye all, of please-  
aunce ?  
burne turves or some of thy bedstrawe, with a vengeance !  
*Adul.* ye muste eate freashe meate bowght from the shambles, and meat ?  
muste ye ?  
eate garlike and Onnyons & rootes or grasse, an luste ye ! 1628  
*Insolence.* In feith, I will whippe youe for this, ye peasaunte  
lowte.  
*Adul.* And twygge youe ;  
*Insolenc.* ere an other yeare come abowte.  
*Adul.* but see where Avarice cometh rennyng veriae faste.  
[*Intrat.* Avar.  
*Avar.* I have trodde & scudde tyll my winde is almoste paste. yet my mates are not where. / 1633  
*Insol. et Adul.* we bee heare come of late.  
*Avar.* Be there not, trowe we, honester men in Newgate ? /  
*Insolence.* No woordes of reproche, brother myne, I reade youe. / [leaf 383]  
*Avar.* None but goddigod eve, & goddigod spede youe.  
Feare<sup>1</sup> ye well againe, an ye be faling owte nowe. 1637  
*Insol. Adul.* we mynde yt not.  
*Avar.* twere more neade to looke abowte youe.  
*Insol.* Howe goethe all, tell vs ?  
*Avar.* My ladye is waxte foward ; our names bee all knownen, so there is ariae towarde / 1640  
*Insol. oppr.* God spede vs well.  
*Avar.* ons I am thruste owte of service /  
*Adul.* Alas, what maie I doe ?  
*Insol. oppr.* tell vs thie best advice.  
*Ava.* Naie, I cannot have youe, whan I woulde none of  
yowe all ; therefore shifte for yourselves, eche one, for me, youe shall. 1644  
He biddeth  
them shif  
for them-  
selves.

and asketh  
rudely what  
he will.

Why de-  
mandeth  
People silver  
money ?

They  
threaten him.

[leaf 383]

and telleth  
the bad news,

that he is  
thrust out.  
They ask  
counsel.

<sup>1</sup> i. e. fare.

*Adul.* Naie, for the passhe of god, tell vs what beste to doo;  
ye knowe I was ner slake to restore youe vntoo.

*Avar.* Theis ladies that are comme for comon weales relief,  
prepare to wearke vs woo and doo vs all mischiefe. 1648

Insolence  
is  
confident,

*Insolence.* Naie, by his precious populorum, I shwere,  
Not the prowdest of them all can hurte me a heare.

and Oppres-  
sion mighty.

*Oppre.* If theye offre of vs to make their gawdes or toyes  
theie shall,<sup>1</sup> I trowe, we are no babes nor boyes. 1652

Avarice  
despaireth  
of force.

*Avar.* To prevaile againte them with force, I doo despaire.

*Insolence.* Bee that as bee maie.

Adulacion  
will speak  
fair: People  
hath caused  
this.

*Adul.* I will fall to speaking faire;  
butte of all this trouble we maie thanke people, this wretche.

*Oppr.* Feith, vilaine, if wee<sup>2</sup> scape, thow shalte an halter  
stretche. 1656

Avarice be-  
ginnig to  
advise, is  
too late.

*Adulacion.* But what remedie therwhile?

*Avar.* feith all wilbe naught.

*Adul.* Tell vs what to doo.

*Avar.* I will. thei come. we are caught.

Adulacion  
cannot sing,  
but Avarice  
doth.

*Adul.* whether shall I renne?

*Avar.* Nowe sing a song, honestie.

*Adul.* I am past singing Now.

*Avar.* yes, one song, honestie. 1660

haye, haie, haie, haie /

I wilbe Merie while I maie. /

### *Actus quinti, scena Nona.*

VERITEE, JUSTICE, AVARICE, RESPUBLICA, ADULACON,  
MISERICORDIA, / PEACE, PEOPLE, INSOL. & OPPRESSION.<sup>3</sup>

Avarice  
japeth at  
Truth.

*Veritee.* Heare theye bee all fower. This is an happie chaunce. /

*Avar.* Take eche Manne a ladie, sirs / & leate vs goo daunce.

*Resp.* / I leafte people heare for a traine to holde them talke.

Alas that I coulde tell / which waie beste hens to walke.<sup>4</sup>

[leaf 388, bk.]

*Avar.* What bee thes faire Ladies? & whether will theye,  
trowe? 1667

Justice  
arrests them.

*Justice.* Wee arrest youe, sirs, all fowre, as ye stande in a rowe,  
not so hardie in your harteres, oure arreste to gaine saie.

<sup>1</sup> Insert find after shall (as Prof. Brandl).

<sup>2</sup> In MS. ye is crossed through, and wee written above the line.

<sup>3</sup> People and Insol. above line.

<sup>4</sup> Should not this line be given to Avarice, as an 'aside'?

*Avar.* Naie, we are content, if ye Let vs gooe oure waie. 1670

*Justice.* Noo, not a foote, we muste firste *your reckeninge* take.

*Avar.* I nere bought nor sold with yowe, reckeninge to Make,  
Nor I knowe not who yowe be.

They may  
not depart.  
Avarice  
knoweth  
not Justice,

*Iust.*                           *Justice is my Name.*

*Avar.* where is your dwelling?

*Iust.*                           In heaven, & thens I came.

*Avar.* Dwell ye in heaven / & so madde to come hither?  
all our hucking here, is howe we maie geate thither. 1676

and mocketh  
her for leav-  
ing heaven,

*Justice.* I bring heaven with me and make it where I am.

*Avar.* Then, I praiе youe, lett me bee *your* prentise, Madame.  
I wilbe at *your* becke.

but she  
makes  
heaven.  
Avarice  
would fain  
learn of her.

*Iust.*                           ye shall ere ye depar[te]. 1679

*Avar.* I woulde Learne howe to make heaven withall my harte.  
well, as for Ladie Misericordia /

He greeteth  
Mercy.

I remembre I saw yowe with Respublica /

*Adul.* youe, if youe soo please, maie doo muche goode in this  
lande;

Adulation  
flatters her.

Mannie at this howre dooe nede *your* goode helping hande. 1684

*Avar.* And ye cam downe from heaven too, I iudge.

*Miseric.*                           yea, sure.

*Avar.* why, what folke are ye *that* cannot heaven endure?  
And what Maie I call youe, Ladie?

He turneth  
to Peace,

*pax.*                                   my name is Peace.

*Avar.* ye have long dwelte with vs, wee have been long in  
peace. 1688

which they  
have long  
had.

*peace.* Cale ye it peace, sIRRha, whan brother & brother  
cannot be content to live one by an other :

Peace asketh  
if there have  
been peace  
within.

whan one for his howse, for his land, yea for his grote

is readie to strive & plucke owte an others throte? 1692

I will in all suche thinges make perfecte vniōn.

*Avar.* Than, goode night, the laweiers gaine by Saincte Tron-  
nion.

Avarice saith,  
if that pre-  
vail, the  
lawyers will  
starve.

westminster hale might goo plaie, if that cam to passe.

feithe we must serve youe with a Supersideas. 1696

*veritee.* well; leave vaine pratling, & nowe comme aunswere  
to mee.

Truth is  
impatient.

*Avar.* I muste heare first what ye saie, & who ye bee.

*veritee.* I am dame Veritee.

*Avar.*                                   what, the daughter of Tyme?

Avarice  
asketh her  
who she be,

*veritee. yea.*

*Avar.* I knowe my M<sup>r</sup>. your father well afyne. 1700 

[leaf 384]  
and greeteth  
her strangely.

She is sprung  
from earth,

welcome, faire Ladie, swete ladie, litle Ladye,  
plaine ladie, smoothe ladie, sometyme spittle ladye,  
Ladie longtong, ladye tell-all, ladie make-bate,  
& I beseche youe from whens are ye comme of Late? 1704 

*veritee. I am sproong owte of the earth.*

*Avar.* what, ye doo butt ieste 

*verytee.* The booke saieth Veritas de terra orta est.

*Avar.* happie is he which hathe that garden platte, I trowe,  
owte of which suche faire blossomes doe spring & growe. 1708   
yet this one thing, I saye,

*verit.* what?

but is friend  
to few.

*Avar.* ye are frende to fewe,  
preste to open all thinges & mennes Manniers to shewe.

*veritee.* If ye bee true & iuste, that is your benefite.

*Avar.* True or vntrue, iuste or vniust, it is your spite; 171—2  
& gladde ye are to take other folkes in A trypppe,  
[yes, ye do it no]we<sup>1</sup> & than, your owne selfe on the whippe.  
well, ye might bee honeste of your tonge, if yowe woulde.

*veritee.* If your actes were honest, ye did but as ye shoulde

*Avar.* who chargeth me with the crime of anie vice? 171—7

*Veritee.* Thowe calst thieself Policie and arte Averice.

*Avar.* Naie, I defie youre Mallis, I am Policie;

Aske of my felowes here, am not I Policie? 172—0

*veritee.* Ladies, will ye all see hym openlie tried?

*Justice.* if he bee an yll one, leate hym bee descryed.

*veritee.* what haste thou in thie bosome?

*Avar.* nothing I, truelie /

*veritee.* Nothing trulie gotte, saie. shewe ytt foorth openlie 

*Avar.* What shoulde I shew foorth?

*verit.* that bag in thie bosome hid. 172—5

*Avar.* It lieth well, I thanke youe, as, muche as thoughe I dy .

*veritee.* Naie comme on, owte with ytt.

*Avar.* loe, here tis for your fans .

*verytee.* Geve it me.

*Avar.* yea, Naie, I defie that polycye. 172—8

*ver.* Open yt.

*Avar.* yea, that eche bodie might bee catching—

<sup>1</sup> These words are a restoration on almost no trace.

Truth telleth  
him he is  
Avarice.  
He denieth it.

Truth asketh  
him what is  
in his bosom.

He would  
fain not show  
the bag,

Somes teeth, I thinke, water een sens to be snatching.

*ver.* we muste nedes see what yt is.

*Avar.* tis abag of rie. and calleth  
veritee. Rye, what Rye? it a bag o'  
rye.

*Avar.* A bag of Rie.<sup>1</sup> 1732

*ver.* such as men do eate?

*Avar.* A bag of Rye flowre a greate deal better then wheate.

*veritee.* Let vs see what Rye ytt is, poore it owte in haste.

*Avar.* yea, shall? I trowe not. In dede soo might wee make  
waste. 1736

*veritee.* There is no remedie, powre ytt owte in my Lappe. [leaf 384, bk.]

*Avar.* Naie, if there bee no choyse, I will vse myne owne  
cappe. She maketh him pour it out,

*veritee.* So, A bag of Rye quod thou?

*Avar.* yea, so God me spede.

*veritee.* Thou saiest even trueth, tis a bagg of Rye in dede:  
vsiree, periuree, pitcheree, patcherie, 1741 and de-  
pilferie, briberee, snatcherie, catcherie,  
Flatterie, Robberie, clowterie, botcherie,  
Troumperrye, harlotrie, myserie, tretcherie. / sribeth how  
it was gotten.

*Avar.* There is t[w]oo, an please youe, a litle sorcerie / 1744

witcherie, banderee, & suche other grosseree. Avarice  
mocketh her truly.

*veritee.* And howe gotste thowe all this in thy possession?

*Avar.* Pardon me, and I will make my confession. 1748 Avarice con-  
The worlde is harde / & the bag ys but veraie smale.  
I gotte it where I colde, to goe on be[ggynge] withall— fesseth he  
got it where  
he could.

A plaine true deling Manne that loveth not to steale,  
and I durst not bee bolde to crave of comon weale. 1752

*veritee.* Now doe of thie gowne, & tourne the[e] inside owt-  
wardes. Verity bids  
him take off  
his gown,

*Avar.* Leate me alone / and an Angell for a rewarde.

*veritee.* Come of at ons; whan? come of. No more gawdies  
or iapes.

*Avar.* muste I nedes whipp over the chaine like Iacke a napes?

*Respub.* owte, in the vertue of God / what doo yee here see?

*Avar.* All this had been loste, Respublica, but for me! 1758

*Respb.* O lorde, where hast thou dragged vp all these purses?

*veritee.* where he hathe had for theim manie thowsaunde  
curses. and forseth  
him. Respublica  
seeth his  
purses. He pre-  
tendeth they  
are saved,  
and for her.

1760

*Respub.* where hast thowe gotten them : tell trueth & do not lye—

*Avar.* where no honest manne coulde have gotten theym but I =  
In blinde corners where some woulde have houred theim,  
had not I take theym with the manier & bourdened theym. 176~~1~~

*Respub.* And whither was yt thine entent to conveigh them  
now ?

*Avar.* I hidde them that I might bring theim safelie to youe—  
I durst not beare them openlie, to God I vowe,  
I wis ye have harde me blame piekepurse or Nowe,  
& this is all yours. 176~~2~~

*Verit.* It is hers in veriae dede.

*Avar.* with Sufferaunce I coulde gette mo to helpe hir nede.  
*veritee.* Howe saie ye, Respublica, nowe to Policie ? 177~~1~~

*Respub.* I ner suspecte[d] hym nor hadde hym in zelosie.

*veritee.* in suche like counterfaictes shall all the rest appere.  
sirs, doe of your vtmoste robes eche one even heare,  
Now what these are yee see plaine demonstration.

*Respub.* Insolence, Oppression, Adulacion. 177~~6~~  
O lorde, howe have I bee vsed these five yeres past.

*people.* Naie, Is ner thought better of om, iche, by Goddes  
vast.

vey, Madame, my Ladie, suche Strussioners as these  
have ofte made youe beeleeve the Moone was a grene chese. 178~~0~~

*veritee.* Nowe ye see what thei are, the punishment of this  
muste bee referred to the goddesse Nemesis.

she is the mooste highe goddesse of correccion,  
Cleare of conscience & voide of affeccion. 178~~4~~

she hath powre from above & is newlie sent downe  
to redresse all owtrages in cite & in Towne.

she hathe powre from Godde all practise to repeale  
which might bring Annoyance to ladie comonweale. 178~~8~~

To hir office belongeth the prowde toverthrowe, /  
& suche to restore as iniurie hath brought lowe ;  
tys hir powre to forbiddre & punishe in all eastates.  
all presumptuous immoderate attemptates. / 179~~2~~

hir cognisaunce therefore is a whele & wings to fyle,  
in token hir rewle extendeth ferre & nie.

A rudder eke she bearethe in hyr other hande,  
as directri[c]e of all thinges in everye Lande. 179~~6~~

and restrain-  
eth the proud.

[leaf 385]  
Respublica  
had not  
suspected  
him.

Respublica  
seeth her  
ruler, who  
they have  
been for five  
years.  
People  
always knew

Nemesis  
must punish  
them.

She righteth  
wrong.

She carrieth  
a wheel and  
wing in one  
hand, and a  
rudder in the  
other,

to keape backe the headie & to temper theire pride.  
 To hir, therefore, dere sisters, we muste nowe resorte,  
 that she maie geve sentence vppon this Naughtie sorte. 1800  
 She knowith what is fytest for theire correction :  
 Nemesis muste therefore herin geve direction.

*Iustic.* Than, people, while we ladie Nemesis doo fett,  
 all these offendours in thi custodie we sett, 1804  
 theim to apprehende & kepe tyll wee come againe.

Justice giveth  
all four to the  
people to  
guard.

*People.* An ye geve me toritee, chill kepe om, that is plaine.

*Ins. Oppr.* Shall people kepe vs, of whom we have been  
 lordea?

*People.* Stande still, or by Lisse [chil] bynde youe vaste with  
 chordes.

**N**aie, sirs, iche ha youe nowe in my<sup>1</sup> custoditee.

*Avar.* Masse, I wilbe gone for myne owne Comoditie. 1810

*people.* zoft, whether wilte thou? wilt thowe not bee roylled? [leaf 385, bk.]  
 stande styll, skitbraind theaff, or thy bonds shall be coilled.  
 yond bee thei comyng Nowe, che warte, that will tame ye.

They strug-  
gle, and all  
but escape.

*A zee,* art thowe gon too? comme backe & evill a pee. 1814

### *Actus quinta, scena de[cima].*

Act V, sc. x.

**NEMESIS, RESPUB., MISERICORDIA, VERITAS, IUSTIC., PAX, PEPLE,  
 INSOL., OPPR., ADULAC., AVAR.**

*Nemesis.* Come foorth, Republica, our darling mooste dere.

Nemesis  
calleth forth  
Republica.

*Respub.* At youre woerde, mooste gracious Ladie, I am here.

*Nemesis.* Are these your trustie men that had youe in  
 govermente? 1817

*people.* The skitb[r]aines nold not bee roilled ner sens ye  
 wente.

*Nemesis.* People, whie aret thou bashefull & standest so farre?  
 bee of goode chere nowe, & I warraunte thee come ner. 1820

and biddeth  
People ap-  
proach.

*people.* I will comme no nere; cha not bee haled vp with  
 states,

He is loth  
and shy,

but I scannot bee fichaunte enoughe emongst my [Mates].

*Nemesis.* Come nere whan I bydde thee.

*peop.* Marye but I ninnat;  
 I namnot worthye to perke with yowe, no I nam not. 1824

<sup>1</sup> mine crossed through before my.

and Nemesis  
turneth to  
the late  
governors.

Avarice pro-  
testeth he is  
dismissed.

She begin-  
neth with  
Adulacion.

He accuseth  
Avarice.

Oppression  
and Insolence  
confirm him.

Avarice saith  
they were  
more cun-  
ning than he.

Insolence  
hath taken  
much land  
and woods  
[leaf 386]  
and towns.

Oppression  
hath dis-  
possessed  
many  
Churchmen  
and others.

Adulation  
got his share.

Mercy plead-  
eth for them,

*Nemesis.* well, Respublica, are these youre late governoures,  
whom ye tooke for faithfull / & trustie counsailours ?

*Respub.* yea, forsouth, Madame.

*Avar.* These three bee, but I am no ~~e~~,  
for I was discharged nigh haulfe an howre agone. 18~~2~~8

*Nemesis.* Come firste stande foorth here, thow Adulacion.

*Adul.* Speake a goode woerde for me, Ladie Compassion.  
people. Naie, she shall not nede, I chill speake for the [e]  
miselfe :

Madame, take goode hede, for this is a naughtie elfe. 18 32

*Adul.* Naie, Madame, the cause of all this was Avarice ;  
he forged vs newe Names / and dyd vs all entice.

*Oopr.* wee neither dyd nor coulde worke, but by his aduise.

*Adul.* Because I got no more, he chidde me ones or twise. 18 36

*Insol.* Madame, onlye Avarice made vs all to fall.

*Avar.* yea? Falle to preching<sup>1</sup>? Naie then, will I tell all.  
Madame, ere I had taught these merchautes enie while,  
Thei were conynger then I, all men to beeguile. 18 40

And Veritee sawe myne were small purses & baggs,  
tottering looce abought me like windshaken rags.

but he that shoulde have bagged that Insolence dyd winne,  
Muste have made a poke to putt five or six shiers in : 18 44  
he muste have made voyde sackes for Castells, townes & woodes ;  
the canvesse to make them of, were woorth ten tymes my goodes.

Than Oppression here, to feather well his neaste,  
Cared not of their Livelood whom he disposseste. 18 48  
Bisshops, deanes, provestes, ye<sup>2</sup> poore folke from the spittle,  
Landes with churche & chapple, all was for him to<sup>3</sup> litle.  
poore I did not soo ; I scrapped but lytle crumm(i)es,  
and here and there with odde endes, patchid vp my summes.

Flatterye gotte his thrifte, by counterfaicte honestie, 18 53  
yet by these tenne bones, I bydde hym vse Modestie.  
Therefore, spare not hym ; he will ner come to goode passe ;  
But I maie welbe mended, by the Marie Massc. 18 56

*Miā.* Ladie Nemesis, now have ye Occasion /  
And Matier to shewe youre commiseracion.

[It is muche] more glorie & standith with more skyll,  
Loste shepe to recover, then the scabye to spill. 18 60

*Justice.* But howe shall this redresse bee well persecuted,

<sup>1</sup> Should not this be peaching?    <sup>2</sup> read þe.    <sup>3</sup> read too.

- I**ustice with Mercye shalbee executed ?  
**t**reight Iustice muste suche greate enormiteis redresse ;  
**e**veritee muste putt men in feare to transgresse ;  
**u**stice muste geve eche Manne that he dothe deserve.  
*Miā.* If offendours were not, wherefore might mercye serve ?  
*Avarice.* Stike harde to it, goode shwete Ladie Compassion ;  
**w**e are all els vndoone / by cockes bytter passion. 1868  
*Miā.* Veritee, how saie youe ? have I not spoken well ?  
*veritee.* Mercie in one place with Iustice sometyme maie dwell,  
**&** right well agree togither. howe saie youe, Peace ?  
*pax.* where althing is well emended, I doo encreace. / 1872  
*Nemesis.* Ladies, we have harde all your descrete aduises /  
**&** eche one shall have some parte of youre devises /  
**N**either all nor none shall taste of severitee /  
**B**ut as theye are nowe knownen throughe Ladie Veritee / 1876  
**s**o shall theye receyve oure Mercie or our Ire,  
**A**s the wealthe of Respublica shall best require.  
**N**ow, Adulacion, what saith youe in this case ?  
*Adulac.* Nought in myne excuse, but submitte me to your Adulation  
 grace. 1880  
**o**nelie this ; I promise, if I maie Mercye fynde,  
**v**tterlie for ever to chaunge my wicked mynde :  
**I**nere sought afore myne owne private gayne so muche,  
**B**ut I will ferther Commonweales tenne tymes so muche. 1884  
*Nemesis.* well, thowe maiest become a worthie subiecte, yt ys [leaf 386, bk.]  
 plaine.  
*Adul.* Els ye knowe at all tymes howe to reache me againe.  
*Nemesis.* Thowe mightest swerve of frailtee, thow mightst doo  
 too<sup>1</sup> please ;  
**T**how mightst doo for feare<sup>2</sup> / thow mightst doo to lyve in ease ;  
**w**ell, vppon thiis promyse, for ons wee pardon thee ; 1889  
**G**oo, & see that from hensfoorthe, thow be perfeicte honestee.  
*Adulac.* So long as shall please God to geve me life and heale,  
**I** shall mooste duelite serve God & the Commonweale. 1882  
*Avar.* Nowe to thee, Avarice ; have att thye petticoete.  
*Nemesis.* Now, the plague of Comonweales, as all men doo  
 note,  
**C**ome foorth, Avarice ; to spare thee wilbe no boote.  
**t**how muste bee plucked vpp / een bye the veraie roote, 1896  
 Avarice, the  
 plague of  
 Common-  
 wealths,

<sup>1</sup> for to.   <sup>2</sup> The scribe has written and struck out feare before for.

because thoue scrapedst vp / what ever thouw mightst geate.

*Avar.* In dede, I thanke God, there is no man in my debte.

*Nemesis.* And because thou caughtst yt by wrong contribu-  
cion,

Thowe shalte firste & formooste make restitucion.

1900

*Avar.* Leat me than with pardon goe hens abowte yt lightlye—

is given unto  
People

*Nemesis.* No, ye shall have helpe to see it doon vprightlie.

People, take this felowe.

*Avar.* Godde save me from this plounge.

to be pressed  
and made to  
restore,

*Nemesis.* That he maie bee pressed as men doo presse a spoung.

by the Law.

that he maie droppe ought, teverye man lyps lotte, 1905  
to the vtmooste ferthing that he hath falslie gotte.

People  
removes him.  
Insolence  
hath sinned,  
like Lucifer,  
of ambition.

*peopl.* An ye bydde mee, chill squeeze hym as drie as a kyxe.

*Avar.* Naye, the pashe of Godde, I shall then die of the fixe.

*Nemesis.* Naie, thowe shalte deliver hym to the hedd Officer  
which hathe Authoritee, Iustice to Mynister. 1910

Oppression  
hath wronged  
the innocent.

They must  
await trial.

*people.* Chil lyver hym to the Countstable & come againe.

*Nemesis.* Now Iustice for these twoo *that* doe here remaine.

because the faulfe of Insolence is hainous & greate,  
Lucifers owne faulfe taspire to the highest seate,  
And because Oppression hath wronged men so sore,  
That he spoiled innocentes of all thei had and more, 1916  
People shall Deliver them vnto safe costodie,  
where thei maie no farther anoye anie bodie ;  
whan the tyne Maie serve / texamine & trie their cause,  
Call them bothe before youe, & Iudge them by the Lawse. 1920

People  
removes  
them.

[leaf 387]

Nemesis  
telleth Res-  
publica she  
is restored to  
the old state,  
her spoilers  
spoiled : she  
must cleave  
to Truth,  
Justice and  
Mercy.  
Nemesis  
must depart  
elsewhere.  
Respubica  
must thank  
God and her  
Sovereign.

*people.* And shalche carrie awaie these same twoo men also ?

*Nemesis.* yea, goe deliver them to an officer, goe. /

Now, dearling Respublica, ye are in tholde goode eastate,  
& they taken awaie that spoiled youe of Late. 1924  
Nowe cleve to these Ladies from heaven to youe direkte :  
they from all corruption will youe safe protekte.  
well, I muste goe hens to an other count[r]eye Nowe,  
That hathe of redresse the like case *that* was in youe : 1928  
I leave youe for thys tyme, immortall thankes to geve  
to Godde and your Soveraigne which doo youe thus relieve. /

*Respub.* Thankes be to thee, O lorde, which haste this worlde  
wrought,

& hast me too<sup>1</sup> this state from vtter Ruine brought. 1932

<sup>1</sup> i. e. to.

*Pax.* Now leat vs all togither, bothe with harte & voice /  
In God and in Quene Marie mooste ioyfullie rejoyce. /

Peace rejoices  
in Queen  
Mary.

*veritee.* Praying that hir Reigne mooste graciouslye begonne,  
[Maie] Long yeares endure as hitherto yt hath doone. 1936

Truth prays  
she may long  
reign.

*Justice.* Praie wee forre hir Counsaile to have long life &  
healthe,  
Theire soveraigne to serve.

Justice for  
her counsel.

*pax.*

And to Mainteine Comonwealthe.

*omnes.*

Amen.

*Cantent / et exeant /*

Finis /



## NOTES.

*I have to express my especial indebtedness to Mr. P. A. Daniel for giving me his expert knowledge and advice in the revision of these notes.*

1. 6. Edward died on July 6, 1553, and this play was evidently intended for Christmas of the same year. v. Introduction, § 4.

1. 39. Cannot this reference to the common practice of the boy-chorister-actors, have some special reference to Edward VI's theological precocity?

1. 58. Should we not read 'to thend'?

1. 67. *compace*] In sense of 'to compass.'

1. 82. cf. l. 465. *grumble sede* = money. 'The redde herring was this old ticklebob or Magister factotum, that brought in the red ruddocks and the grummell seed as thickke as oatmeale and made Yarmouth for argent to put downe the city of Argentine.' (*Nashes Lenten Stiffe*, pp. 230, 231, Huth Library, Nash, vol. v.) [P. A. D.]

1. 84. *Detected* as often means accused.

1. 87. i. e. after Henry VIII's death, when Somerset usurped the Protectorate and enclosures and confiscations ensued.

92–106. In this general abuse, Avarice refers to the woebegone condition of England. Property is impolitically distributed; forfeits made for the occasion (e. g. the seizing of Somerset's lands); *blind escheats*, i. e. blindly brought about. *Flettaunce*, according to Professor Skeat, is a ghost word for fleetings, i. e. skimmings.

1. 114. *bredē* would be better sense.

1. 169. See Introduction, § 6.

1. 176. Like the new landowners.

1. 182. *Merchant* throughout the play is used depreciatorily.

1. 250. That *y<sup>t</sup>* should, I think, be read, *tut*.

1. 262. This use of *at* is Northern.

1. 282. These divided livings between secular owners and curates are referred to again, e. g. l. 960.

1. 292. *take vpon me*] i. e. *imponieren*. Cf. *Time's Whistle*, E. E. T. S.

Like some great horse he paceth vp and downe,  
And takes vpon him in each company.

1. 293–5. The sale of church-lands, encroachments of commons, and spoliation of plate and ornaments.

1. 300. *hoo*] stands for 'hold'; cf. *wo*. See N. E. Dict. 'Ho,' p. 311, 'col. 1 and 2.'

1. 313. *Ball* is a dog's name: the phrase means 'Go it, boy!'

1. 340. Is Rigg a name inserted metri gratia? The four solemnly obey Avarice's order. But cf. *Ralph Roister Doister*, II, iii, 47:

ye shall see her glide and swim  
Not lumperdee clumperdee like our spaniel Rig.

l. 343. Mr. Daniel has explained this phrase as a nickname for a dishonest fellow, with a by-play on *trussed* (i. e. hanged).

l. 360. Cf. Grene, *Menaphon*: ‘Twere necessarie he tolde us how his heart came thus on his halfpence,’ and Murray under Halfpenny, pp. 37, col. 3, 2 a, and Greene, Huth Library, ii 85, 208, iv 41, viii 74, xii 70, xv 79. And cf. Scotch *bawbee*.

l. 368. *harde*] This form is the older, without umlaut in the past tense.

l. 384. i. e. by the halter ye shall.

l. 407. There are only three rhymes, and the MS. has a ruled space for a lost line. Might we restore,

Deformacion, ye doulte, naie, Reformacion!

l. 409. *A pestell on hym*] i. e. euphemistic for *pestilence*.

l. 415. *have on the lips*] i. e. be hit on the lips.

l. 423. Evidently some rough by-play is intended. Adulation perhaps tries to pick Avarice's pocket, and being detected, acts up to his new part. Avarice thus forgets the new names and is knocked down by Oppression.

l. 439. *yearchlye*] l. 476 and *yet*. Northern forms.

l. 465. See l. 82.

l. 473. *pipes*] i. e. his thieves' pockets.

l. 475. *Coppie*] i. e. change my manner.

l. 476. *toyes*] i. e. implements, Zeug.

l. 481. cf. l. 1598. Avarice seems to insist on the death of Conscience and to fear what Respublica has not said.

l. 519. There is no rhyme to this line.

l. 545. cf. l. 264 and 1063. This use of *until* suggests a Northern dialect.

l. 550. i. e. made promptitude prosper.

l. 564. Respublica enters in a bedraggled garment.

l. 581. cp. l. 1814.

l. 591. The four Vices never consult together.

l. 597. *St. George the Borouye*] A common form of invocation to St. George for help or protection. Cf. *Jack Juggler*, Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, ii, 120 [P. A. D.], and *Ralph Roister Doister*, IV, vii, 94.

l. 611. Numerals take a singular in this play as a general rule.

l. 636. This *may* mark London as the author's home, but see Introduction, § 7.

l. 638. i. e. alias dicta. Cf. l. 1091. People's Latin is intentionally corrupt.

l. 645. *Malkin*] i. e. slut, an opprobrious feminine expression, applied to Adulation. So used in *Ralph Roister Doister*, see Introduction, § 4.

l. 678. i. e. the fewer folk the better.

l. 697. MS. ‘cha for yet tone name.’ *g* in this play nowhere else becomes *y*; hence it is probably the scribe's mistake for *forget* (present = past participle). However, in many official documents we find *yeven* or *yeoen*. See People's Dialect, II.

l. 714. *have be*] i. e. if these have been.

l. 722, see 733. Between Acts II and III we may suppose (see § 4) the lapse of one year. In 1547 Edward VI came to the throne; the next year the peasants rose, and Somerset tried to suppress the revolt and also take the popular side. In 1550 he was attainted. Thus  $1547 + 2 - 40 = 1549 - 40 =$  accession of Henry VIII.

l. 733 refers to the six year failure of the Regency. See also l. 998 and note.

l. 742. *The pip*] A disease of which fowls die.

l. 750. Avarice enters hugging his bags. At l. 750 Avarice is seen *haling* his bags after him, and at the end of the *Act* he *drags* them out. Note that Oppression whose entrance is marked in next scene does not enter till following sc. *quinta*. [P. A. D.]

l. 768. An aungelot or angel was originally equivalent to 10s., and a third of a sovereign of fine gold (30s.). Under Elizabeth it was reduced to 6s. 8d. An *Edward*, a gold coin stamped with Edward VI's effigy.

l. 793. See Introduction, § 6.

l. 794. *e.g.* the see-lands of Winchester and Durham.

l. 801. Can this be a reference to the subsidy (7 Edw. VI, c. 12) of two-tenths and a fifteenth?

l. 806. *enfourned*] (*i.e.* indicted); *confourmed* (*Act of Uniformity 1552*); refourned (Reformation).

l. 810. *emprowed*] *i.e.* improved, so as to raise the rent.

l. 812. *i.e.* the modern building-lease.

l. 814. *att the Latter Lammas*] *i.e.* never.

l. 819. *applye*] *i.e.* bend. *E.g.* Gardiner and Bonner, who were imprisoned until Mary's accession.

l. 824. Adulation sees the danger; the four have not met for a year: they are too self-absorbed to take counsel.

l. 847. *niene stockes*] Probably means to be put in the stocks nine times following.

ll. 854-885. These unjust gains were:

(1) Lands seized by encroachment on commons and sold or leased again.

(2) A bill against usury was brought in 5 and 6 Edw. VI, c. 20.

(3, 4) Incidents in the general corruption: secular advowsons were a new thing.

(5) Cf. 5 and 6 Edw. VI, c. 16: An Acte againte buying and sellinge of Offices.

(6) *Sectour* (*i.e.* executor) with a *by-gibe* on *sector* (*seco*). 'My mother' can only mean the Church, whose lands were secularized.

(7) *sectorships*. Thus are trusts, *e.g.* chantries and charities, often embezzled.

(8) This iconoclasm is not overcoloured.

(9, 10, 11, 12) *Counterfaicte wares*] The legislation of Edward VI is full of Acts for the greater authenticity of wool, leather, and other manufactories, dishonesty having followed in the wake of depreciated coinage and economic unsettlement.

1 Edw. VI, c. 13, expressly forbids the export or import of *wines, goods, merchandises, wools, woolfells, hides and backs of leather*, by or into any creek or haven, 'the subsidye aforesaide not payed.'

2 and 3 Edw. VI, c. 37, confirms and extends an Act of Henry VIII, and forbids the export of *bell-metal* 'in small crekes' except tin or lead.

2 and 3 Edw. VI, c. 23, is 'An Acte concerning colouringe of Customes in other men's names to the decaye of the King.'

3 and 4 Edw. VI, c. 9, regarding *hides*; and 3 and 4 Edw. VI, c. 20, as to *butter and cheese* forbid middlemen dealings. Tallow probably shared the fate of leather, and grain was taxed under the tonnage and poundage of 1 Edw. VI, c. 13.

(13) This 'facing oute of dawes' (cf. Aesop) must refer to the legal contrivances for deception.

As to the Prior of Prickingham, see Introduction, § 6.

l. 918. This picture of Occasion seems to be a medley of Fortune and her wheel, and Time and his forelock.

l. 960. Sir John Lacke-Latten is a gibe at the illiterate clergy of the Reformation, who might even be laymen and depute their work.

l. 961. A numeral here takes a plural.

l. 998. If my idea is right and the action takes seven years (*i. e.* the reign of Edward VI), this line refers to the reforming and secularizing policy of Somerset, and especially to Cranmer's Prayer-book of 1552. From line 1002 it will be seen Avarice has been busy and not seen Respublica, and in line 1022 People boasts of his prosperity under Henry VIII (five or six years ago). Thus Act I and Act II are continuous; Act II—Act III one year; Act III—Act IV five years, and Act IV and Act V, the *dénouement* and restoration of the Catholics, continuous.

l. 1016. *vet*] Prof. Brandl restores *vent*, *i. e.* wind. To put this into People's mouth, seems out of place. Might not the text be right, and the meaning be 'thou fetchest' (takest) too far the compass about? *vet* would be Devonshire for 'feet,' and 'thee *vet*', a common Southern confusion of grammar. The phrase is found in 2 Sam. xxiii, 2 Kings iii, 9, or Acts xxviii. 13.

l. 1027. Professor Skeat has kindly explained these lines for me. *sallet* is a helmet; also, punningly, a salad; *godsgood* means godsend, but also yeast. 'The clown makes fun by putting a yeast-tub on his head.'

l. 1036. Here again a numeral takes a plural noun.

l. 1036. *hair through hood*] *i. e.* come to poverty. Cf. *Creed of Pier Plowman*, ll. 841-2:

'His hood was ful of holes  
And his heare oute.'

and Bohn, *Handbook of Proverbs*, p. 53. [P. A. D.]

'His hair grows through his hood.  
He is very poor; his hood is full of holes.'

l. 1072. One constant complaint of the time was the way in which Parliament, without consulting Convocation, ruled the Church.

l. 1078. This was the constant resource of the Protectorate ministries; the coin was constantly reduced; but in 1551 and on afterwards, was cried down to its real value; however, on the unfair condition of government paying in the old coin and receiving in the new: 'Every creditor of the Court,' says Froude, 'artisan or labourer, servant, tradesman, farmer or soldier, was forced to receive that money at a fictitious value, although the council knew that a further depreciation was immediately and necessarily imminent.' (June 1551.)

l. 1083. This last reduction of the teston or shilling to 6d. took place in Aug. 1557. The averments, in the next lines, are not unfounded, for in the depletion of the Treasury, the Protector (1549) had to pay his Flemish creditors 'Kerseys, lead and Bell-metal.' See (on Froude's authority) Flanders MSS. Edward VI, State Paper Office, Letters of Council to Mr. Damosell at Antwerp.

l. 1090. *i. e.* according to Prof. Brandl's restoration, 'diuites estis iusti fiajstis.'

l. 1093-9. *e. g.* in 1551 the woods of the see of London and the appropriation of the episcopal demesnes of Durham.

- l. 1160. We must understand some mishandling of People at this point.
- l. 1163. *e. g.* the Acts of Conformity of the Reformers.
- l. 1167. Again the plotters leave the scene, each on their own business without any concerted plan. The *dénouement* in the next Act finds them ‘unready.’
- l. 1209. In Act V, scenes ii, viii, ix and x, the characters enter at intervals, and the author, having already ten scenes, seems to have felt he could not multiply their number still further by the careful subdivision we find in the previous Acts.
- l. 1246. *Piers Pickepurse* is an instance of the use of a proper name generically; cf. a Tommy. ‘organes,’ *i. e.* fumbling with his fingers.
- l. 1275. In l. 950 Adulation, egged on by emulation of Avarice and his reproaches, goes away to seek greater profits. He is absent all through Act IV. As this final scene may be supposed to take place some little time after Act IV, it, for the five years between Act III and Act IV, may have elapsed since Respublica has seen Honesty. See also note on l. 1167.
- l. 1290. The two verities. Mary and Jane, the two claimants to the Crown, are intended.
- There can hardly be a doubt that Henry VIII is intended in the phrase Old Time, first, as the Catholic faith was then established; secondly, perhaps, because Henry too scythed away many heads, like poppies ‘plat in a garden’ (see l. 1707).
- l. 1322. *leap at a daisy*] *i. e.* be hanged. This explains the following lines. They may be blindfolded and play at trussing (stretching) a cord. Cf. *Gammer Gurton's Needle*, V, ii; *Dodsley*, ed. Hazlitt, vol. iii, p. 251:
- ‘I will go neer for this to make ye leap at a daisy.’ [P. A. D.]
- l. 1432. *ben*] they been. This bold archaism is inserted *metri gratia*.
- l. 1455. Respublica, who had no share in the counsels of the four vices (see line 1328), is supposed to be making a royal progress with the Virtues, and herself finding out how matters stand.
- l. 1468. *to adventure a joint*, is to risk hanging. Cf. l. 1606.
- l. 1483. *att hyr Nympthes*] *i. e.* with her handmaidens who are dressing her.
- l. 1506. Jill, like Malkin and Piers, a common proper name.
- l. 1530. From the Book of Wisdom. It should be:
- ‘Iustitiae lumen non luxit in nobis.’ (*Sap.* 1. 15.)
- This mistake is interesting: if, as is probable, the MS. is not the author’s, it is the kind of miscopying which we might expect.
- l. 1547–62. See Introduction, § 6.
- l. 1601. Again we have a clear indication that People’s misery, and the action of this play, dates back to the beginning of Edward’s reign.
- l. 1606. See l. 1468.
- l. 1649. *Populorum*] I cannot find any explanation of this word: it sounds very like the school-boy slang (*Slang Dictionary*, pp. 122, 1874), *Cockalorum*, ‘an amplification of cock or cockey.’
- l. 1688. Strictly speaking, this was true. After Somerset’s fall in 1549–50, there were no more foreign wars, although this cannot be set down to the credit of Northumberland.
- l. 1696. *Supersideas*] Supersideas, a writ having the effect of staying a lawful proceeding that would have proceeded otherwise.

l. 1733. There are two half-lines lost here. Might they not have been—

*Avar.* A bag of Rie, yea 'tis a bag of Rye.

*Ver.* A bag of rie thou saiest such . . . .

Notice a bag of rye would have had the same sound as a bag awry.

l. 1754. There is evidently a play on the proper meaning of angel.

l. 1777. i. e. March 1547. In July 1553, but the Reformation was at its worst after 1549, when Northumberland came into power.

l. 1805. There is no stage-direction 'exeant veritas misa,' etc., as might be expected. The scene closes in disorder owing to the struggles of the Vices.

l. 1821. *haled vp with states]* States = the highest personages of a realm. People has not been brought up in their society: hence his shyness. [P.A.D.]

l. 1854. *by these tenne bones]* This must evidently mean his fingers.

l. 1894. *Have att thy petticoate]* The use of 'at' is again peculiar.

l. 1909. Can 'hedd Officer' mean executioner? If so, this would refer to Northumberland's execution.

l. 1927. Does this mean that Catholicism must be restored in other countries? Read 'countreye'; this would account for the spelling, at least.

## PEOPLE'S DIALECT.

### I

IN 'People' the author, however, seems to be typifying the Devonshire revolt which was so successfully maintained against Sir Peter Carew, and throughout which Somerset endeavoured vainly to take the popular side. Hence our author does his best to write Devonshire; his measure of success may be gauged by the following analyses and special glossary.

#### I. CORRUPTIONS.

These are mostly intentional and well-conceived. Thus we find :

##### (a) *Latin.*

Respublica	Ricepudding-cake.
Alias dicta	alise dicts.
Divites estis iusti fuitis.	Divum este iustum weste.

##### (b) *Portmanteaus.*

Words compounded of two ; in these cases, to my mind, there can be no doubt they are 'portmanteaus' on Lewis Carroll's principle.

Commediens	{ Convenient Commodious
Promydence	{ Providence Predominance or prominence.
Policate	{ Polished Delicate

##### (c) *Comic.*

To these we may add comic corruptions often significant :

Captyytee	Capacity
bezeivers	deceivers
zembitee	cf. dissemble and zembletee, <i>Ralph Roister Doister</i> , I, iv, 74, etc.
exaltacions	exhortations
destructions	instructions
enquest	request, etc.

##### (d) *Abbreviations.*

Words are shortened :

warte	warraunte
Mace	Master
Masship }	
spose	suppose
membre	remembre, etc.

## II. OLD WORDS SURVIVE.

pieke	this
widge	A.S. wicg, horse
cobbes	notables
vei	fey (foi)
peason	paysan, etc.

## III. CONSONANTAL CHANGES.

(a) *s* = *z*. Zai, zo, etc., etc.(b.) *f* = *v*. Volke, vele, vorth, etc.(v.) *prefixed s*. Sdare, spraie, scomporte, svele, scan, etc.(v.) *b* = *þ*. The author evidently intended that the hard 'th' was to be sounded *þ*, and occasionally represents this with the *b*. Thus we find þee, thee; þought, þey, þinke, þing, þicke; but for the most part he forgets to indicate this change of sound.

## IV. GRAMMAR.

## (a) Personal Pronouns and their use.

*Is, Ich*.—Here we need only note *ich* (variously spelt) and *Is* for *I*: *a* for *he*. From the epenthetic 's' (perhaps from 'I is') possibly we can see the origin of the prothetic 's' in *sdare*, etc.

The form 'ich' is more frequent, and combined in various ways.

'I have' becomes *Cha* and *Che* (*ha*); 'I will' becomes *Chil*, and so *choulde*, *chwas*, *chad*, *cham*, and even *shalche* (shall *I*), *erche* (ere *I*), *anche* (an *I*).As by-forms we have *chave* (for *cha*), and fuller forms *ichill*, *I chill* (740), *I cham*; confusions in *che was* (1082).(b) Confusion.—In the Present, forms are regularly confused. Terminations in 't' and 'th' are used with *you*, *we*, *they*, and the simple verb with *a* (*he*), and *thou*, v. lines 639 (youse liest), l. 989 (you beeth), dooeth youe (1006), and lines 711, 989, 676, 682, 679, 727, 703, l. 1016 (thee vet, thou fettest, thee for thou),<sup>1</sup> 1017, 1112, etc., etc.Thus *we beethe*, *þey zaith*, *a bee*, *they zwareth*.(c) Past Participle (a) in *i-*.—The past participle is sometimes compounded with the old *i-*, e.g. *i-trounist*, *i-polde*, (v. Glossary for others).(b) Present form.—But oftener we find the present form, with or without *i-*, e.g. *forget* (697), *i-strike* (1081), *take* (1095), *doo* (1611), *take* (1612), *byd* (1614), etc.(d) Negatives.—Negatives are used as in modern English, except that from 1. 1818 onwards, the author suddenly remembers he ought to double People's use of them. We then get the forms *nodd* (ne woulde), *nam*, *nimat* (ne moght), and so too in all later scenes where People appears.

## V. The author often forgets to use the dialect. We find :

afore, l. 1601	ferhest, l. 987
face, l. 702	fire, l. 1096
faine, l. 993	for, l. 642
false, l. 640	fowertie, l. 1036
fele, l. 994	fynde, l. 719
ferre, l. 1016	siae, l. 1050

<sup>1</sup> 'we' is the accusative, 676 and 682.

sallet, l. 1027	sometime, l. 702
same, l. 999, 1020, 1087, 1921	sommes, l. 1078, 1079
see, l. 1622	soone, l. 1584
served, l. 1094	therefore, l. 1602, etc., etc.

VI. There only remains to note that once we have 'foryet' for 'forget,' l. 679; and almost always 'om' ('m) for hem.

These few remarks are supplemented by the special Glossary that follows. Since writing the above, by the kindness of Mr. J. S. Westlake, I am enabled to add another section, dealing with the dialect from a more philosophical point of view.

## II

CONTRIBUTED BY J. S. WESTLAKE.

THE nature of the language used by 'People' is somewhat difficult to determine. The main basis seems to be the standard vocalism, occasionally provincialized. However, the author adds sentences and words in an unmistakable South-western dialect, and modifies ordinary expressions accordingly, especially when such alterations would be noticeable to a Londoner. In other cases, when the provincialism would be less evident, he uses the usual form. Thus an overwhelming number of initial consonants are modified; what remains of such words is unaltered.

In many cases, he employs clearly South-western terminations, where the form would strike the ear; in longer phrases London and Midland forms are predominant. Yet his dialect is very accurate; and it is possible that the writer was a West Countryman, who had grown out of his mother-speech and was trying to reproduce it for a London audience.

We note some of the peculiarities in their relation to Old English, in so far as they differ from standard English; this choice of comparison is made because to refer to the evolution of London-English would be irrelevant, and to Middle West English would be harassing.

(a) For O.E. ā vowels the form used is much as that of the Standard English, i.e. of M.E. ȫ.

Forms such as *whare* (637 and elsewhere), *thare* (672 etc.). *Tharevere* seems to be intended to have another pronunciation from that of the Standard (*where, there*) always written. Of course this may be a quasi-phonetic writing of 1553 for Standard ȝ̄rhvér. But internal evidence perhaps tends to my mind to note it as a genuine dialectical form. It cannot come from Late West Saxon *hwār* ȝ̄är, for such would give *whore, thore*, unless we suppose it is an unstressed form of them. All e sounds (except ē) fall together in the Western dialects.

O.E. ȝe is a as in Standard English.

O.E. ȝ as lengthened in M.E. to ȝ̄ is found as in Standard English, e.g. *came, ladie*.

O.E. ē is found as ē, but the sound seems from internal evidence of words in rhyme to have been ȝ̄ not ī. For the 'umlaut' ē we find occasional ī: *ich win* (1084) (I ween).

For O.E. ȝ̄ no reference need be made, except where it is lengthened in M.E. to ȝ̄, e.g. *common weale* (638).

In forms such as *zwareth* (703), *bares* (1076), the correct sound would be ȝ̄ (barren).

This is more frequent in the Dialect than in the Text, just as M.E. *ā* became *ē* or *ë* earlier in the West than in literary English.

O.E. long *i* has only Standard developments.

O.E. *ī* is regular in *this*, *his*, *chill* (for *ic wil*). *u* is found as a sounding of M.E. *ī* for O.Fr. *ai* after *m* in *mustress*.

O.E. *ō* seems to have had the sound *ū*, e.g. *doe zouth*, before *lk* we find *ō* as in *volke*. *ō* may have been *ūd*; cf. *id*.

O.E. *ō* has only standard equivalents. The same may be said of O.E. *ū*, *ū*, *ȳ*. We find *lust* for *list*, *lystan*, line 684. This may be an attempt at Western dialectical *ii*.

O.E. *āe* has as its regular development *ē* as in 'wer' (*wáeron*), etc.

Where it represents the umlaut of Germanic *ai* as in *heale* 637 for *hælo* (health) evidence of other *ē* rhymes leads us to assume a real *ē* sound, i.e. a direct derivation from the Old West Saxon form.

An O.E. *nūed* is represented perhaps by *nead* rhyming with *read* (678). This points indubitably to an *ē* pronunciation, for *read* was pronounced as the equivalent of *rēd*. If this be correct the attempted dialect can be localized.

Under the forms for O.E. *ēo*, which are not Standard, we find *theaff* which (1812) confirms the theory above as to the derivation of 'nead' for *rēd*, and *bēof* might be expected as *nēd* and *thēf* in the same dialect. The modern dialect would have had *ē* from *āe* and *ē* from *ē*.

For *eo* we find Standard equivalents except in case of *weorke* 696, where the value must remain doubtful.

As to the consonants, there in general we find an attempt to produce a Western appearance—combined with as much archaism as possible.

Taking them in due order:

O.E. *ȝ* initial before gutturals, Standard, except in 'cha for yet tone name', where a whole real Western sentence in its phonology and morphology is produced. Here initial *ȝ* before palatals is represented as *y*.

All other forms found are regularly Standard.

*c* is only found differing from Standard in *þieke* for M.E. *bilkē*, where we find *k* for an expectable *ch*. This corresponds to Modern dialect. So also we find curious variants of *ȝc* (1). Here we might safely say final *c* is preserved as a sibilant or affricate, putting the influence of the Standard language aside.

Two regular forms with preserved palatal or sibilant are found. *ich*, written *iche* (= *īch*?) *Itche*=(*ītch*?) *ch* or *Is*. E.g. *iche goe* 643, *chill*, *chwas*, *cha*, but *ispraise*, *isvèle*, *isdare*.

These forms may be divided as follows. Before auxiliaries beginning with a vowel, initial *t* is lost, e.g. *chill*, *chwas*, *cham*. Where labial *w* intervenes between palatal affricate *ch* and palatal vowel *i* it is lost, e.g. *chill*. A similar law is observed in the oldest English, i.e. *smerede*.

*Iche itche* is found before back-gutturals, *iche goe*.

Before *labials*, *dentals* or *labio-dentals* we find *s—ispraise*, *isvèle*, *isdare*. These laws, real or imaginary, correspond to forms found in the text; *is* is also found before *c*, however, e.g. *Iscrye*.

*cg* in 1590 is represented by *-dge*. This must be a genuine. Western derivation of West Saxon *sege* as the author could not have been so many hundred years ahead of his time as to invent it—like he seems to do others. It is also a valuable witness that in the Western dialect of the 16th century in verbs like *segan*, the gemmated palatal *cg* was preserved in forms answering to the 1st person singular and infinitive, and, if we may trust the text, not found in the 2nd and 3rd persons singular.

*s* and *f* initial are represented as *z* and *v* even in Standard words to give

'local colour' of a Western nature, e.g. *zai, zouth, volke, zorowe, zome, zmothe, vore, volke*, etc.

Forms like *cha* represent M.E. final *f* in unstressed syllables.

With regard to morphology and syntax. We find Western and Standard forms mingled—the former being most probably isolated attempts at local colouring like the modern dialect novel.

Western *p* in plural present indicative in *beeth* (666), 1st person plural, 3rd person plural in line 727, 988, *zaith* 3rd person plural (1166). Here, to judge from line 1590, we should expect *zedgeth* not *zaith* for *zaith=sagap* 3rd singular indicative; whilst *secgap* the correct plural would give us *zedgeth* on the model of *zedge* 1590. But here the pot of 'local colour' gave out. The writer may have been misled by the resemblance of Western plurals in *p* to London 3rd singulars, and put a London 3rd pers. sing. for Western plural.

We find old negative forms not especially Western in *nynnat* 1603, *nyll*. We also find amongst syntactical peculiarities *wee* for *us* 676, and *thee* for *thou* 690, as a levelling out of singular, thou, thee; plural *ye, you*, to a universal *thee, we, ye*.

An old neuter plural is found in *volke think*.

In *cha for yet tone name*, we find the characteristic use of sing. accusative as the oblique case instead of dative, and the preservation of the old form of the article, and old gender in concord with the following noun. As the Western dialect could not have been so archaic at this time, one is led to conclude a petrified phrase.

*Ill a bee, A.S. [ill] he þeo* (may it go ill to him), is equally archaic.

The form *ȝe* of the past participle is preserved as *I*, and added indiscriminately to all verbs.

First, then, in the Dialect, *ā* or *āð* from M.E. *ā* occur more frequently than in the text, just as *ā* became *ā* earlier in the West and North than in Standard English.

Secondly, *ē* from M.E. *ē* was *ē* (= *ēð*?), cf. modern *ē* from *īð*; thus *ē* from M.E. *ē* must have been *ē*, intermediate between the two other sounds. Before *r* M.E. *ā* and *ē* sounds merged in *ā*.

In *chwin* M.E. *ē* is found as *i*, sounded *ei*, but only before *n*.

Thirdly, M.E. *ō* becomes *ū* or *ūð*, in the text *u*, parallel to the development of *ē* to *i* or *īð*.

In this archaic Devonshire or Somerset we have :

M.E. <i>ā</i>	= People's <i>ā</i> or <i>āð</i> = Modern Dialect <i>ēð</i>
" <i>ē</i>	= " <i>ē</i> = " <i>ē</i>
" <i>ēð</i>	= " <i>ēð</i> or <i>ēðð</i> = " <i>ēð</i>
" <i>ō</i>	= " <i>ū</i> or <i>ūð</i> = " <i>ū</i> or <i>ūð</i>
" <i>a</i> and <i>e</i> before <i>r</i>	= " <i>ā</i> or <i>āð</i> = " <i>ēð</i>

This corresponds to the Eastern section of the far Western dialect. The language in the text bears this out, e.g. *e* for *i*, *u* for *o*, *au* for *ou*, *ā* for *ār* and *ēr*.

The author's Westernisms indicate a Western origin. He was only acquainted with North Devon and Somerset dialects, and treated these as foreign. He must then have lived in the Middle West, which can only be Wiltshire or Hampshire : in the latter Udall was born.

## WEDDING HORN

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~SECRET~~ C-17 THE BEE  
C-17 3-11-58  
~~SECRET~~ BEE 7-2-58  
~~SECRET~~ BEE SECRET

THE NEW YORK JOURNAL OF  
THE 1ST MEETING.  
DRAMA (part 1), THE 11TH APRIL 18

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seen in will of this  
intentional without the date  
lawyer - time when this = 1952  
of writing is the last day of 1952  
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I claim I am 21 yrs.  
old, I will not be 32 1606, 60

ichwin, I was 35 1001  
ientman, geriatric, 33 1006, 34  
1931.

*ignoram*, i.e. *ignoramus*, ignorant.

77 616 23 666-32 993

Tissue-Jeans 59 1808 etc

**I**nstitute, **S**eptember, **1900**. etc.  
**I**mpilata Pilated 22 6-1

~~I pilate, Pilated, 22, 0, 1.  
I nolda - pulled about 32' 6" 2~~

I polde, pulled about, 22/658.  
I meant, paraded on 23/651

I pounce, pounced on, 22/651.

is, 1, 36/1088, 52/1590, 1600, 58/

— 1778. — 244

I scrye, I cry, 24/719.

**I torment, tormented, 22/650.**

- I trounst**, M.E. *trunsioun*, O.F. *tronchon* (Prof. Brandl), 22/652.  
**I vey then**, ay, faith then, 33/1016.  
**Kyxē**, kex, a dry hollow stalk, 62/1907.  
**Ladidom** (new formation), 24/704.  
**lyver**, deliver, 62/1911.
- Mace**, mas(ter), cf. masse, masship, 33/1006.  
**madge mason**, mason, 22/656. *See* preceding line.  
**malkin**, 22/645. *See note.*  
**membre**, remember, 23/685, 37/1142.  
**mot**, moght, 24/716.  
**mistress**, mistress, 22/646.
- Namnot**, ne am not, 59/1824.  
**nil**, ne wil, 23/693, 59/1822.  
**ninnat**, I ne will not, 52/1605.  
**bold**, ne would, 59/1818.
- Om**, 23/678, 24/695, 34/1050, 52/1604, 1607, 59/1806.  
**ont**, for on it, 36/1084.
- Passeive**, perceive, 23/667.  
**peake**, peep, 51/1582.  
**peason**, peasant (*and suggested poison*), 24/702.  
**perke**, give oneself airs, 59/1824.  
**permounted**, ? promoted, 52/1598.  
**perzente**, represent, 22/649.  
**pieke**, pick, 52/1591.  
**plaine me**, 'me plaindre,' 34/1040.  
**policate**, polished and delicate, 24/698.  
**promydence**, predominance and providence, 23/686.  
{ **proute**, proud, cf. A.S. *prut*, 52/1598.  
{ **prowte**, 52/1593.
- Rice-pudding cake**, *Respublica*, 22/637, etc.  
**roylded**, ruled, 23/690, 59/1811, 1818.  
**Scan**, can, 23/678, 685, 34/1024, 59/1822, etc.  
**scomporte**, comport, bear, 34/1030.  
**sdare**, dare, 51/1578.  
**shaked**, shook, 51/1586.  
**shalche**, shall I, 52/1609, 62/1921.
- skitbraind**, 59/1812.  
**skitbraines**, 59/1818.  
**slypper**, slippery, 23/680.  
**smoulte**, smooth, 24/716.  
**sprai**, I pray, 33/1011.  
**sqwatte**, squash, 52/1604.  
**strussioners**, destructioners and constructioners, 58/1779.  
**studd**, study, 33/1006.  
**svele**, feel, 33/1020.
- Tall**, tale, 23/663.  
**theaff**, thief, 59/1812.  
**bee**, *see evill a bee*, 23/679.  
**thervore**, 24/704.  
**picke**, this, 23/689.  
**thieke**, 52/1593.  
**pieke**, this, 23/675, 686, 24/698.  
**toritee**, authority, 59/1806.
- Vaine**, **veine**, etc., fain, 34/1028, 36/1082, etc.  
**vaire**, 24/711, 38/1158, 52/1594.  
**valeslye**, valorously, 22/639.  
**valse**, false, 24/714, 34/1044.  
**vare**, fare, 38/1161.  
**vaste**, fast, 57/1808.  
**vast**, fast, ultimately God's face (so Prof. Brandl), 58/1778.  
**vaye**, faith, 33/1014.  
**vei**, faith, 37/1140.  
**vell**, fell, 51/1586.  
**venter**, venture, 51/1578.  
**vet**, 33/1016. *See note.*  
**vey**, faith, 33/1016, 58/1779.  
**virst**, first, 51/1580.  
**vive**, five, 33/1021.  
**vole**, foal, 34/1023.  
**volke**, folk, 22/648, 24/701, 34/1036, 36/1098, 1112, 38/1163, etc.  
**volowe**, follow, 37/1140.  
**vor**, for, 22/649, 23/669, 670, 24/695, 702, 32/989, 33/1017, 36/1079, 1080.  
**voorth**, forth, 34/1026, etc.  
**vorst**, *vormooste*, from fore, 23/679.  
**vorth**, forth, 23/672, etc.  
**virtune**, fortune, 52/1597.  
**vound**, found, 24/714.  
**vowre**, four, 24/700, 33/1021.
- Warte**, war[raun]te (so Prof. Brandl), 22/641, 24/722, 59/1813.  
**widge** (A.S. *wicg*), horse, 34/1023.

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|---|--|
| <b>Yele, ye will,</b> 38/1163.  | 700, 706, 33/1000, 34/1026, 36/1080,<br>1104, 51/1580, 52/1601, 1608, etc.       |
| <b>Zai, say</b> (various spellings), 22/656,<br>23/675, 33/1000, 36/1104, 38/1166,<br>52/1601, etc. | <b>zofte, adv. soft,</b> 59/1811.  |
| <b>zedge,</b> by-form of zay, 52/1590.  | <b>zome, some,</b> 22/648, 24/713, 33/1011,<br>1017, 36/1112, 52/1613, etc.      |
| <b>zee, see,</b> 22/643, 24/704, 32/987, 52/<br>1612, etc.  | <b>zoone, soon,</b> 34/1035.   |
| <b>zeen, seen,</b> 24/713.  | <b>zore, sore,</b> 24/695, 51/1585.  |
| <b>zelfe, self,</b> 34/1024.  | <b>zorowe, sorrow,</b> 36/1083.  |
| <b>zelie, silly,</b> 22/659, 23/661.  | <b>zorte, sort,</b> 51/1584.   |
| <b>zembitee, ? semblity (dissemble),</b> 34/<br>1044.   | <b>zorylesse, corruption of insolence and<br/>translated sorrowless,</b> 23/688. |
| <b>zette, set,</b> 34/1026.   | <b>zoure, sour,</b> 32/991.  |
| <b>zilver, silver,</b> 35/1075, 52/1600.  | <b>zouth, sooth,</b> 22/656, 23/675.   |
| <b>zix, six,</b> 33/1021, 36/1080, 52/1601.   | <b>zuche, such,</b> 23/692, 36/1079, etc.  |
| <b>zmothe, smooth,</b> 24/713, etc.   | <b>zware, sware,</b> 52/1592.  |
| <b>zo, zoo, so,</b> 22/654, 23/666, 671, 24/  | <b>zware, swear</b> ( <i>for sworn</i> ), 24/703,<br>( <i>vb.</i> ), 33/1001.    |
|   | <b>zwette, sweat,</b> 36/1077.   |

## GENERAL GLOSSARY.

- Aabout**, about, 38/1168, 52/1618,  
etc.  
**afearde**, afraid, 40/1221.  
**afore**, in front, 14/429.  
**afore**, before, 2/30, etc., etc.  
**afyne**, finely, 56/1700.  
**againste**, again, 14/416.  
**ai**, ay, 39/1180.  
**aie**, ay, 7/202.  
**all**, quite, 42/1282.  
**all thing**, everything, 15/455, 16/479,  
21/609, etc.  
**alone**, unique, 26/767, 3/81.  
**althing**, all thing, 34/1042, 61/1872.  
**altogither**, 46/1424.  
**amaigne**, amain, 12/343.  
**amendement**, 34/1029.  
**amices**, 'squares of white linen folded  
diagonally, and worn by priests,'  
29/872.  
**amickelye**, amically, 39/1199.  
**appaire**, impair; (*peiorare*), 32/977.  
**appeace**, appease, 39/1173.  
**araie towarde**, preparation going on,  
53/1640.  
**aret**, art, 59/1819.  
**attemptates**, 'attentats,' 58/1792.  
**avoid**, depart, 51/1563.
- Bagged**, 60/1843.  
**banderee**, plotting, 57/1746.  
**bard**, barred, 16/490.  
**Barwicke**, Berwick, 50/1550.  
**bedlems**, madmen, 36/1112.  
**beecome**, suit, 38/1166.  
**been**, 3. pers. pl. 46/1431.  
**behouff**, profit, 3/76.  
**bisshop**, *passim*.  
**blisse**, *vb.* 44/1348.  
**bluddinges**, black pudding, 28/852.  
**boulte**, bolt up, 20/589.  
**bourde**, engage in tilting, 11/331, 15/  
436.  
**bourdened**, taken up as burden, 58/  
1764.  
**brode**, broad, 25/744, etc.
- broklettes**, crumbs, 4/96.  
**bruted**, bruited, 3/78.  
**brym and hotte**, brimhot, 42/1281.  
**buisie**, **buisinesse**, busy, 22/642, etc.  
**bunting**, swelling, 26/770.  
**but**, only, 38/1163.
- Cale**, call, 55/1689.  
**Callis**, Calais, 26/783.  
**canvesse**, canvas, 60/1846.  
**carping**, prating, 25/744.  
**cayes**, keys, 4/119.  
**champion**, champagne, 15/448.  
**chops**, *intr.* snap, 30/924.  
**chordes**, cords, 59/1809.  
**clawback**, 6/185.  
**clogg**, burden, 50/1560.  
**close**, closed, 14/429.  
**clowterie**, mending, 57/1743.  
**clowtes**, cloths, rags, 29/871.  
**cockes**, Gods, 31/950, 61/1868.  
**cognisaunce**, sign, 58/1293.  
**comons** (probably means ground,  
fields), 44/1358.  
**compace**, compass, 3/67, 34/1032, etc.  
**compares**, compairs, 49/1505.  
**condinge**, condign, 21/629.  
**consoulte**, 20/588.  
**conveighe**, convey, 35/1054, and  
*passim*.  
**converte**, turn, 40/1214.  
**convincid**, convicted, 45/1381.  
**cooste**, cost, 5/152.  
**coppie**, 16/475. *See Note.*  
**costodie**, custody, 62/1917.  
**coumpace**, *vb.* 34/1033, 1034, 1035,  
etc.  
**counplices**, complices, 49/1515.  
**counsaile**, counsel, *passim*.  
**counterfaicte**, counterfeit, 14/419,  
*passim*.  
**countryeye**, country, 62/1927.  
**covent**, convent, 29/885.  
**covetise**, covetousness, 3/80, 12/352,  
etc.  
**creature**, trisyllabic, *passim*.

- Dearling, darling**, 62/1923.  
**dedicate, dedicated**, 1/5.  
**Demie, Sainete, Sc. Lescie**, 12/361.  
**derling, darling**, 36/1202.  
**deserne, discern**, 36/1110, 49/1237.  
**descrete, discreet**, 61/18/3.  
**descretelye, discreetly**, 25/746.  
**descretion, discretion**, 12/353.  
**deseases, disease**, 37/1122.  
**desiples, disciples**, 6/177.  
**desperable, despairing**, 49/1230.  
**devise, divide**, 39/600.  
**directe, directed**, 62/1923.  
**double, adr.** 44/1346.  
**doulfull, doleful**, 39/1201.  
  
**Eare, ere**, 25/1052.  
**earelye, early**, 19/292, 59/1540.  
**eareneste, earnest**, 21/622.  
**eastate, 46/1411, 49/1496, 58/1791, 62/1923.**  
**echo, each**, 20/591, etc.  
**echewhere, everywhere**, 12/363.  
**els, pausim for else**.  
**els, looke els, look to it, otherwise**, 42/1272.  
**emend, amend**, 24/706, 708, 62/1872.  
**emendes, amends**, 39/1173.  
**emendment, amendment**, 31/971, 39/1178.  
**emonge, among**, 4/124, 6/168, 9/263, 273, 19/576, 26/779.  
**emongst, amongst**, 47/1441, 59/1822.  
**emprowde, 27/810.** See Note.  
**endyte, indict**, 49/1522.  
**entend, intend**, 9/551, etc.  
**entent, intent**, 19/548, 58/1765.  
**enveigled, inveigled**, 45/1377.  
**er, erstwhile**, 42/1269.  
**er, ever**, 29/884, 46/1414.  
**ere, erstwhile**, 16/472, 22/657, 23/670.  
**ery, every**, 48/1328.  
**ever, always**, 43/1331.  
**everychone, Everych one**, 3/59, 27/820, etc.  
**evisdropper, eavesdropper**, 42/1300.  
**extent (sale under compulsory powers)**, 27/811.  
**extracites, 4/100.** See Note.  
  
**Facion, fashion**, 6/187.  
**faire, fairly**, 31/942.  
**fall edge, fall aside**, 48/1467.  
**farther**, 62/1918.  
**feale, feel**, 20/601.  
  
**fealoues, fauloues**, 25/741.  
**fear, fax**, 53/1635.  
**feste, fax**, 3/72.  
**ferme, ferm**, 25/799.  
**ferre, fer**, 21/603, 21/627, etc.  
**ferther, farther**, used as verb to  
    ferther, 61/1884.  
**ferther, farther**, 43/1315.  
**ferthing, farthing**, 62/1906.  
**festinacion, speed**, 18/524.  
**fett, feten**, 17/517, 18/524, 40/1236,  
    5/1803, etc.  
**fifth**, 25/861.  
**flaterabundius**, 6/183.  
**fiereth, fier**, 6/185, 23/681.  
**florent, flourishing**, 15/441.  
**flowre, flour**, 57/1734.  
**flyce, fleece**, 4/102, 6/174, 27/821.  
**flygtht, flieth**, 42/1294.  
**fytched, cut up into strips**, 27/794.  
**fyxe, flick, thief**, 62/1908.  
**for, as for**, 49/1504, 53/1644.  
**forgeve, forgive**, 11/328.  
**forre, for**, 63/1937.  
**forwardnes**, 25/728.  
**fower, four**, 54/1663.  
**fowterie, forty**, 34/1036.  
**fowre, four**, 27/825, 827.  
**fraie, present of afraid**, 16/475.  
**freend, friend**, 38/1157.  
**frend, friend, passim.**  
**frewte, fruit**, 25/732.  
**fruichte, fruit**, 50/1532.  
**fylte, fifth**, 27/801.  
  
**Gaudes, gewgaws**, 54/1651.  
**gawdies, pretences**, 57/1755.  
**geare, arrangement, mechanism**, 10/289, 27/813, 51/1571, etc. etc.  
**geate, get**, 28/828, 55/1676, 62/1891.  
**gentman, gentleman**, 35/1067.  
**gette, 28/850.**  
**geve, give, passim.**  
**ghostlye, spiritual, geistlich.**  
**gobbet, morsel**, 27/796.  
**goddamighties, God-almighty**, 31/952.  
**goddigod, goddygod**, 3/59, etc., 53/1636, God give ye good [day] (Prof. Brandl); **goddigod eve**.  
**goe, gone, go and gone** are alternative forms as adverbs, 8/239.  
**gosse by, by God, so 'Cock'**, 11/315.  
**govermente, government**, 59/1817.  
**grone, groan, passim.**

- grosserie, grossièreté, grocery, 57/1745.**
- grumble, 3/82. See Note.**
- grutche, variant of grudge, *passim*.**
- gubbins, parings, 4/98.**
- gyptian, Egyptian, 39/1194.**
- Ha, have, 51/1561, 1562.**
- hake, Northern dialect expression of defiance, 8/249, 27/826.**
- hale, hall, 55/1695.**
- hale, haul, 25/751.**
- harde, hard, 57/1749.**
- harde, heard, 13/368, 16/476, 35/1051, 39/1202, 40/1222, 45/1367, 48/1409, etc.**
- hardelye, steadily, 28/853.**
- harte, heart, *passim*.**
- have after, follow, 31/951.**
- heale, health, 22/637, 62/1891.**
- heare, hair, 30/928, 929, 54/1650.**
- heare, her, 31/942.**
- heare, here, 6/164, 177, 10/306, 15/452, 20/589, 21/614, 41/1264, 53/1632, etc.**
- hede, heed, 13/398.**
- her, here, 43/1316.**
- here, hear, 12/349, 35/1055.**
- herke, hark, 16/480, etc.**
- hether, hither, 32/985, etc.**
- hey, hay, 30/902.**
- hir, her, 4/108, 109, and almost everywhere.**
- hir, here, 35/1057.**
- holsome, wholesome, 18/528, 46/1420.**
- holydome, halidom, 12/357, 41/1256.**
- hongre, hunger, 44/1343.**
- hongri, hungry, 24/698.**
- hooc, who, 16/481.**
- houge, huge, 45/1373.**
- hucking, haggling, 55/1676.**
- hunderd, hundred, 27/792, 31/956.**
- hundred, 47/1434.**
- hundreth, hundred, 7/226.**
- Ialousie, jealousy, 3/86.**
- iavels, rascals, 9/264.**
- ientilman, gentleman, 53/1623.**
- ientle, gentle, 31/940.**
- ieoperde, leopard, 52/1606.**
- in continent, incontinently, 44/1359.**
- intresse, interest, 29/858.**
- ist, is it, 16/471, 22/645, 38/1150, 48/1313, etc.**
- Kye, key, 5/156.**
- Laie on lode, is lain on the load, 30/901.**
- laisure, (at) leisure, 25/737.**
- learning, teaching, 28/849.**
- leat, let, 2/56.**
- leate, let, 57/1754.**
- lese, lose, 4/106.**
- lest, least, 12/360.**
- lett, let (hinder), 6/189, 17/516.**
- livelood, 30/925, 60/1848.**
- lo, look, 40/1219.**
- losell, vagabond, 53/1620.**
- lowtes, make somebody a lout of, mock him out of it, 29/870.**
- Lucifer, 20/581, 62/1914.**
- lyege, liege, 34/1027.**
- lynnen, linen, 29/871.**
- Mallis, malice, 56/1729.**
- manier, manner, *passim*.**
- manye, mannye, many, 12/348, etc.**
- masship, mastership, 27/814, 28/842, 35/1053.**
- matier, matter, *passim*.**
- mell, meddle, 23/693, 38/1150, 48/1466.**
- membre, limb, 46/1415.**
- mo, moo, more, 20/582, 31/955, 41/1249, etc.**
- mome, blockhead (dialectical word), 12/348.**
- mone, ?read moone, 26/759.**
- moothed, mouthed, 50/1535.**
- mote, mote of dust, 19/564.**
- mought, might, 8/244.**
- mued, mowed, 30/903.**
- myserie, miserliness, 57/1744.**
- Naughtie, 59/1800.**
- near, nigher, 24/711.**
- ner, ner, 6/189, 18/538, 22/650, 652, 33/1014, 41/1256, 54/1646, 59/1818, 60/1855.**
- ner, near, *comp.* 60/1820.**
- nere, near, 29/887, 45/1393.**
- nere, near, *i.e.* nearer, 18/543, 26/777, 29/886, 60/1821, etc.**
- nere, never, 42/1294, 55/1672, 60/1856, 61/1883.**
- nie, nigh 58/1794.**
- nicknames, 59/1536.**
- niene, nine, 28/846.**
- nomyacion, an eccles. term, 14/428.**

- nones, nonce, 17/517.  
 not where, nowhere, 53/1632.
- Od, odd, *passim*.  
 of, off, 17/491, 23/667, 26/762, 57/  
 1755, etc.  
 ones, once, 10/284, 17/518, 60/1837.  
 ons, once, 15/460, 17/509, 40/1228,  
 45/1395, 48/1467, 1479, etc.  
 or, ere, 31/947, etc  
 oughe, owe, 9/274.
- Painfull, painstaking, 37/1129.  
 pardee, par Dieu, 38/1166, 42/1300.  
 pashe, passion, 62/1908.  
 passhe, passion, 54/1645.  
 passhen, passion, 26/786.  
 pece, piece, 4/96.  
 pepe, peep, 26/769.  
 perfeite, perfect, 61/1890.  
 perfitte, perfect, 10/281.  
 perfytte, perfect, 45/1396.  
 persans, Persians, 15/447.  
 persecuted, pursued, 60/1861.  
 perswasion, *passim*.  
 pestell, 14/400, 42/1288, etc. Also  
 Pestle. See Note.  
 pieke, pick, 51/1570.  
 piekpurse, pickpurse, 41/1246,  
 1247, 1250, 58/1768.  
 pielouries, pillories, 41/1250.  
 piepe, peep, 15/421.  
 pitcherie, begging with a pitcher  
 (a Northern custom), 57/1741.  
 plounge, plunge, 62/1903.  
 poke, pocket, 60/1844.  
 poore, pour, 57/1735.  
 porte, bearing, 11/310.  
 poure, power, 9/255, 47/1409.  
 powre, pour, 57/1737.  
 praiers, preys 4/98.  
 pranketh, dresses out, forces out,  
 58/1797.  
 prest, i. e. pressé, 19/548.  
 prest, pressé, 48/1479.  
 presté, pressé, 56/1710.  
 pretelye, prettily, 34/1026.  
 prospiritee, prosperity, 33/1008,  
*passim*.  
 provestes, provosts, 60/1849.  
 puissaunce, power, 44/1358.  
 pynne, a merry pin, 20/594, pin,  
 violin-peg.
- Quadrible, quadruple, 18/537.
- quazie, nice, fastidious, 43/1321.  
 qualified, moderate, reform, 31/941.  
 quike, quick, 75/459.
- Rahated, for rabated, beaten back,  
 12/364.  
 rake, rake up, 3/82.  
 rather, earlier, 6/107.  
 raught, pp. reach, 50/1548.  
 reade, rede (advise), 38/1159, 53/  
 1635.  
 reast, rest, 26/757, 27/797.  
 recured, 46/1415.  
 redowne, redound, 19/570, 37/1133.  
 relived, relieved, 35/1064.  
 remembre, *passim*.  
 renne, run, pres. for pp. 33/1001.  
 renne, run, 30/906, 53/1631, 54/1659—  
 restorytee, (?) restorative on model —  
 of authority, 29/889.  
 rewine, ruin, 20/599.  
 rewle, rule, *passim*.  
 rome, room, 27/790.  
 roste, rule the roast, 5/136, etc.  
 roune on heade, run headstrong — g,  
 12/362.  
 rowme, room, 9/258.  
 rumboling, rumbling, 9/263.
- Sectourship, 29/864, 866. See Not — te.  
 seens, for sens, adverbially, sin — ce  
 then, 18/532.  
 selie, silly, 31/942.  
 sens, since (already), 52/1599, 5 — 7/  
 1730.  
 sens, since, 51/1565.  
 sente, scent, 6/164.  
 shales, shells, 25/726.  
 sharinges, shearings, 3/94.  
 shewete, ? read shwete, 4/108.  
 shiere, shire, *passim*.  
 shrewe, curse, 43/1303.  
 shriddinges, cf. shred, 4/102.  
 shwere, swear, 54/1649.  
 sindons, eccles. term wrappers, 29/  
 873.  
 skambling, be rapacious, turbul — ent,  
 11/318, 29/869.  
 skeymishe, squeemish, 9/278.  
 skrinke, shrink, 48/1477.  
 slabbe, lick up, 28/853.  
 slake, slack, 54/1646.  
 sluttishe, dirty, 28/853.  
 smale, small, so spelt always except  
 34/1035.

- softe, adverbially**, 9/261, 18/542, 27/  
826, 42/1289.  
**solfe**, Sol Fa (spell), 14/410.  
**sometime**, sometimes, 24/702.  
**sometyme**, sometimes, 61/1870.  
**soo**, so, 2/45, etc.  
**soondred**, sundered, 45/1397.  
**sors**, sores, 32/983.  
**sowte**, sought, 39/1188.  
**spaignel**, spaniel, 12/340.  
**spill**, destroy, 60/1860.  
**spittle**, hospital, 60/1849.  
**spoung**, sponge, 62/1904.  
**sproong**, sprung, 56/1705.  
**staigh**, stay, 15/457.  
**staighe**, stay (state), 25/735.  
**sterve**, starve, 37/1120.  
**sware**, swear, 37/1131.  
**syens**, since, 26/764.  
**syns**, since, 11/319.
- Taduenture**, to adventure, 48/1468.  
**tainter hooks**, tenterhooks, 50/1550.  
**tales**, tales, 25/727.  
**tamende**, to amend, 2/54.  
**taspire**, to aspire, 62/1914.  
**tassale**, to assail, 9/251.  
**tentrete**, to entreat, 1/3.  
**texamine**, to examine, 62/1919.  
**texercise**, to exercise, 39/1188.  
**teverye**, to every, 62/1905.  
**thabuses**, the abuses, 2/50.  
**thactours**, the actors, 1/5.  
**thalbes**, the albs, 29/872.  
**thalter**, the altar, 29/872.  
**than**, then, 2/35, 5/146, 7/226, 9/276,  
11/322, 327, 328, 13/389, 20/586,  
588, 21/623, 22/593, 649, 23/683,  
685, 24/719, 722, 25/727, 738, 27/  
813, 29/892, 30/910, 31/932, 950,  
33/1014, 34/1024, 35/1054, 1066,  
36/1095, 1098, 37/1041, 1120, 39/  
1098, 41/1256, 42/1282, 1286, 43/  
1333, 44/1375, 47/1452, 49/1516, 50/  
1549, 1555, 1556, 51/1553, 1582, 55/  
1694, 59/1714, 1803, 60/1847, 62/  
1901.  
**thandes**, the hands, 9/276.  
**thargumente**, the argument, 1/15.  
**tharmes**, the armes, 26/783.  
**that**, what, 2/54, 15/439, 61/1865.  
**theare**, the ear, 42/1273.  
**theare**, there, 5/159.  
**theffecte**, the effect, 25/725.  
**then**, than, 3/78, 5/156, 10/288, 17/
- 519, 23/659, 25/749, 26/772, 37/  
1134, 1137, 38/1170, 46/1427, 51/  
1589, 52/1595, 57/1734, 60/1841.  
**then**, then, 4/113, 6/188, 13/375, 15/  
451, 16/194, 18/530, 536, 20/590,  
33/1017, 37/1128, 40/1239, 48/1465,  
52/1606, 60/1839.  
**thend**, the end, 2/58.  
**thexesse**, the excess, 4/103.  
**tholde**, the old, 2/43, 24/721, 62/  
1923.  
**thone**, the one, 45/1386.  
**thother**, the other, 24/696, 51/1573.  
**thrift**, thriving, 32/990, 45/1382, 60/  
1853, etc.  
**thrifte**, saving, 44/1343.  
**trihumphe**, triumph, 48/1472.  
**throod**, the rood, 34/1035.  
**thuncurable**, the uncurable, 46/1417.  
**thyll**, the ill, 46/1418.  
**tigither**, together, 35/1059.  
**to**, compared with, 18/534.  
**together**, 32/984, 47/1451.  
**togither**, 10/286, 287, 18/540, 61/  
1821, 63/1933.  
**tone**, the one, 24/697.  
**tong**, tongue, *passim*.  
**torne**, turn, 51/1575.  
**tother**, the other, 24/697.  
**tourne**, turn, 50/1532, 51/1575.  
**toverthowre**, 58/1789.  
**towarde**, 37/1126, 50/1552.  
**toyes**, 16/476. *See Note.*  
**traine**, for a, for a stratagem, for a  
time, 52/1603, 54/1665.  
**Trenitee**, Trinity, 47/1436.  
**Tronnion**, Triunion, Trinity, 55/1693.  
**trowe**, 33/998, 54/1667. Cf. German  
*traum*.  
**tunderstaunde**, to understand, 41/  
1455.  
**twygg**, in sense of 'youngster,' 11/  
339.  
**twygge**, pull about (Northern  
Dialect), 53/1630.  
**Until**, to, 35/1062.  
**utmooste**, outermost, 58/1774.  
**Verai**, veraye, *e. g.* very, *passim*.  
**verament**, verily, 40/1233.  
**vouchesalve**, vouchsafe, 46/1405.  
**Waite**, weight, 10/284.  
**wast**, was it, 42/1290.

wealthe, wealth, welth, welfare, <i>passim.</i>	winche; of a horse, to kick out be- hind, 10/284.
weemen, women, 48/1462.	wink (mod. sense), 38/1164.
wemme, blemish, 19/566.	winke, shut the eyes, 37/1135.
weorke, work, 3/86, 24/606, 697, 25/ 734, 50/1543, 54/1648, 60/1835, etc.	wis I = I wot, 50/1539, 52/1601, 58/ 1768.
wer, were.	wissed, wished, 1/2.
were, wear, 26/787.	wissahed, wished, 33/1006.
whan, when, 2/21, 9/269, 11/318, 14/ 429, 20/589, 22/651, 24/718, 29/879, 30/938, 33/998, 34/1027, 1041, 1070, 36/1101, 1077, 1080, 38/1149, 1172, 39/1185, 1192, 41/1205, 44/1337, 1343, 45/1383, 46/1417, 47/1445, 48/1480, 50/1528, 53/1643, 55/1689, 1691, 57/1755, 59/1823, 62/1919.	woo, woe, 54/1648.
whan that, when, 30/894.	woodeness, wood (mad, <i>Wut</i> ), 38/ 1172.
wheale, weal (blow) ? pun with weal (good), 6/163.	woomen, women, 47/1454.
when, when, 7/218, 9/268, 10/281, 11/329, 15/434, 28/839, 50/1535.	woonder, wonder, 20/602.
whether, whither, 54/1659, 1667, 59/1811.	wrong, wronged, 22/650.
whoughe! etc., Hoo! 24/722.	wrowte, wrought, 50/1539.
whowe, how, 16/475.	wull, wool, 12/344, 23/668.
wincheth, Northern, by-form of	wurse, worse, 1/13, and <i>passim.</i>
	Ye, yea, 37/1120.
	yearth, 39/1190, 44/1361.
	yearthely (earthly), 15/439.
	yei, eye, 16/474.
	yong, young, <i>passim.</i>
	yst, is it, 12/353.
	Zelousye, jealousy, 32/996, 58/1772.

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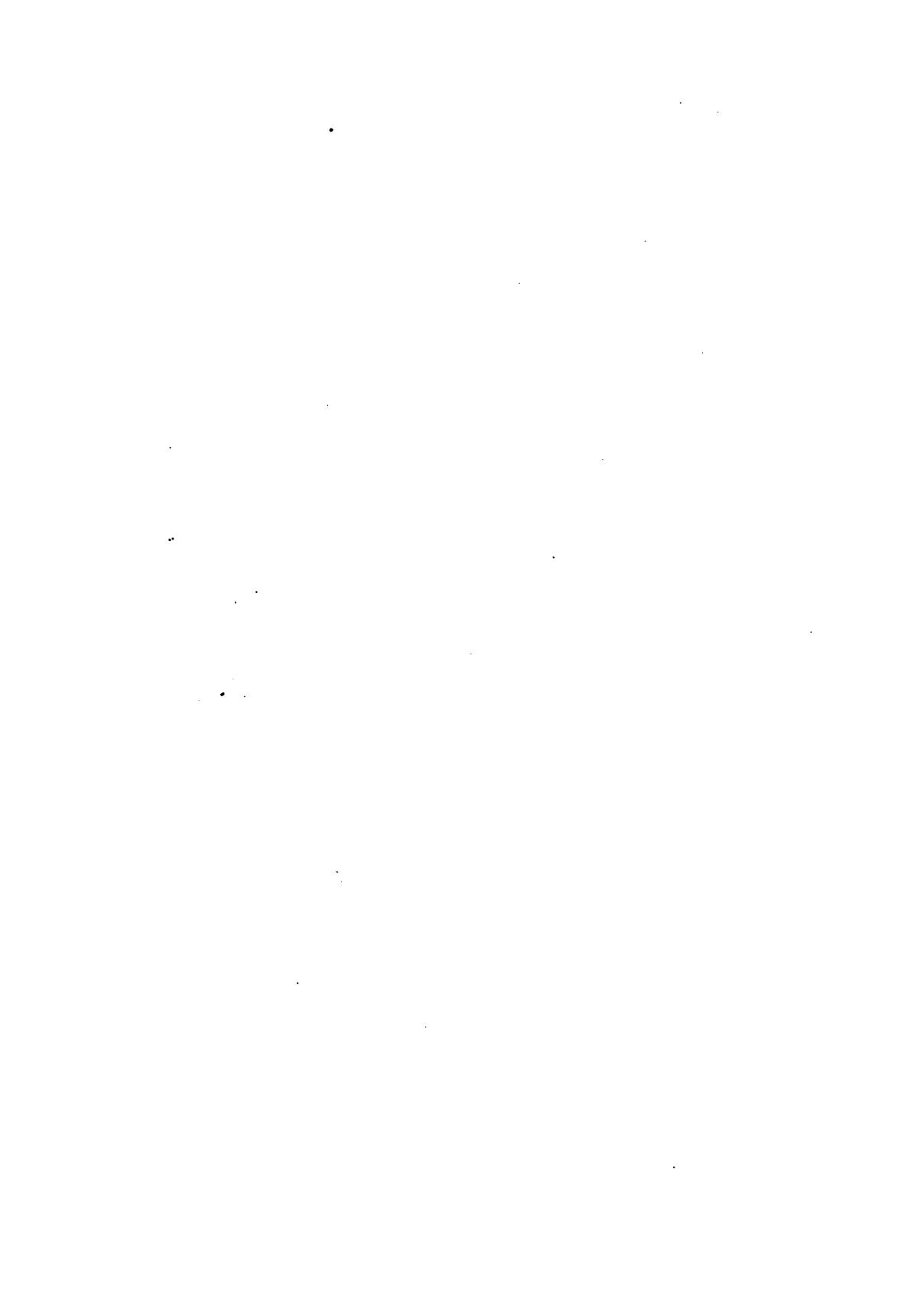
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